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A BRIEF VIEW

OF

GREEK PHILOSOPHY

UP TO THE

AGE OF PERICLES.

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## 124 INTRODUCTION.

NEARLY three years ago a small volume crept into print entitled "Philosophical Theories and Philosophical Experience by a Pariah." It purported to be, and was, the result of deep communings with unseen things which suffering had produced in one who believed in a God, and as a consequence of that faith believed that in whatever he *permitted* even, there must be latent good; and, therefore, resolved to seek, and hoped to find it. At that time two only were privy to the publication; the Thinker, and the Friend who edited those thoughts because they were his own also; and who, possessing the sinews of—printing—determined that they should no longer form the mere private solace of one or two.

An unexpected success attended the experiment: the philosophy propounded was approved; its applicability to all the great purposes of life was acknowledged; and, very shortly after, a society was formed for the purpose of editing more works of the same kind; in which sound views of science, and great philosophical principles should be clearly and shortly brought forward, for the benefit of those who had neither time nor inclination to seek them in more voluminous works. Since that time three more tracts have been ushered into the world under the auspices of this society:—the Theories have gained publicity in the lecture room of the Royal Institution, and have found favor in the sight both of philosophers and divines. Physiologists of no mean fame have listened and praised; and among those whom our age looks up

to as great in science, many have bestowed so liberal a share of commendation as to outgo the most sanguine hopes of the friends who first associated themselves for a purpose which they thought a good one, but of whose success they were uncertain.

This state of things has put an end to the dual existence of the Pariah, and the Theorist is now but one among many pledged to contribute to the common stock: and he knows not how he can do so better than by presenting as his quota, a short view of a subject which has hitherto slumbered in ponderous folios and quartos, or in fearful ranges of octavo volumes clad in one livery, which put a man's reading courage to the test, and justify him in calling himself bold, who takes down the first volume. Horace's warning of the danger that whilst avoiding the Scylla, lengthiness, we may full into the Charybdis, obscurity, will doubtless occur to the *ungentle* reader, for times have changed since worthy authors addressed their intended victims as *gentle*,—the Theorist can only answer to the thought, that he hopes to steer his barque safely between the two. If, furthermore, any of these *ungentle* personages should wonder why so old a subject as Greek philosophy should be brought forward; he answers, that though we owe the chief of our scientific acquirements to the spirit of inquiry which the literature of Greece awoke, when Europe was slumbering in contented darkness; few are aware of how much that literature has done for us: and he wishes to lead his countrymen, and countrywomen too, to do it more justice. The simple monk who complained of the Greek tongue, and especially of “the book called the New Testament,” in that language, as a “pestilent invention;”—and the military despot who forbade it to be taught in his schools, knew it better than we do: they

feared it; for it is the language of the free man, whose mind brooks shackles as ill as his body. We who have drunk at its pure fountain go on our way refreshed, but ungratefully forget whence we obtained the invigorating draught; and too often imagine that we exalt Christianity by detracting from the merits of the great men of antiquity, “who having not the law, were a law unto themselves;” and who, if the sun of the Gospel had not yet risen upon the earth, at least pointed to its dawning. Clement of Alexandria, whom we must allow to have been a competent judge of such matters, explicitly says, “Philosophy was needful to the Greeks before the coming of the Lord, for the purifying of their lives,\* and even now it is useful to piety; being a kind of rudimentary teaching for those who upon conviction receive the faith.” “For,” he adds a little further on, “philosophy to the Greeks, was what the law was to the Hebrews, a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ.”†

It is strange that with such testimony before us, and with many of the works of that age in our hands also, we should have been so generally led astray by a misunderstood passage or two in the epistles of St. Paul, where he is referring to sophists, and not to philosophers; and no less grievous is it, than strange; for such misunderstandings make the first steps in ancient lore a dangerous trial. It is a fearful moment when we discover that any part of what we have been taught in our childhood by those we most venerate, is *not true*:—the very foundation of our best hopes is shaken, and it is well if in that frightful wrench of our reason from our affections, we remain calm enough to examine how much we must forego,

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\* εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

† Clem. Alex. Strom., lib. i. c. 5.

how much retain. Could we know the private history of most "free-thinkers," as they termed themselves,—"infidels," as they have been termed by others,—we should most probably find that the greater number,—as we know has been the case with many,—were made what they were by some such revulsion of feeling as that above described. It is time then that the possibility of any such lamentable results should be prevented, by putting into the hands of all, the means of knowing, and consequently of teaching, the unadulterated **TRUTH**. The child might thus receive from his mother in his infancy, the rudiments of the knowledge which his after progress must be grounded upon; and thus the best years of his life would not be wasted in *unlearning*, when that process is most dangerous, and when there is much hazard that, along with the prejudices of the nursery, the great truths of religion and morality may also be discarded. Science, divine and human, would then stand before him in loving companionship: and what advance would be too great for one whose nature was indeed become what Plato had dreamed long ago;—a blessed harmony of the seen and the unseen, the intellectual and the corporeal. The age of pious frauds and political humbug is passing away: men, and women too, are beginning to be weary of receiving dogmata upon trust: and if there be, as assuredly there is in this age, much of crude and wild theory, and of contempt for what had before been held in honor, let us at least impute it to its right cause, and meet the evil with its proper remedy. The human soul asks for **THE TRUTH**: let us give it;—for surely that **GOD** who made man for himself, and who is **TRUTH**, has made that the road to peace and to happiness.

It may be needful here to premise that in order to

compress matter that usually has filled large volumes into so small a space, it has been requisite to omit all the arguments by which the writer has been influenced to choose one account rather than another, where there were conflicting statements. It is the business of an author who writes a compendium of this kind, to exert his own best judgment in the choice of his materials, in order to give the reader a clear notion of the subject he has undertaken to explain; not to weary him by contrasting the discrepancies between ancient authors, and by detailing the reasons why one witness is more credible than another. In many instances the choice of testimony must be founded on a deep study of human nature generally; a subject too large to be here discussed: the writer, therefore, can do no more than ask his reader to have candor enough to believe that he has left no author unexplored that could throw light upon the subject. The results of his reading, his experience in the world, and his contemplations in solitude, are here given, and he conscientiously believes in their general truth; but his judgment, like that of others, is fallible; and those who have the time, will always do well to examine and judge for themselves.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.	
1800	About this time the Israelitish family settle in Egypt, and Greece is peopled by a tribe from Asia, called by the ancient writers, Pelasgi. Argos and Sicyon were the first kingdoms, known as such, in the region thus colonized. The ancient walls and monuments, called Cyclopean, being found where the Pelasgi are said to have settled, were probably their work. Another tribe, the Hellenes, though the weaker of the two at first, gradually gain the supremacy. They first appear in Phocis, and about Parnassus, under their king Deucalion, spread into Thessaly, and drive out the Pelasgi. The Hellenes consisted of four tribes, Æolians, Ionians, Dorians, and Achaians.
	The Israelites leave Egypt.
1550	Cecrops leads a colony from Sais in Egypt, to Attica; and Cadmus from Phœnicia to Bœotia.
1500	Danaus arrives in Argos from Egypt, and persuades the people to depose their monarch, and receive him in his room.
	Rameses the Great, or Sesostris, pursues his conquests.
1400	Pelops comes from Mysia to Argos.
	Minos reigns in Crete, and clears the sea of pirates.
1250	The Argonautic voyage to Colchis. Orpheus flourished about this time.
1225	The seven chiefs besiege Thebes; but it is only taken by their sons in a second attempt.
1215	
1194- 1184	{ Trojan war.
1180	The descendants of Hercules endeavor to recover their father's kingdom by the aid of the Dorians and Ætolians: but the first attempt under Hyllus, the son of Hercules, fails. The grandsons of Hyllus, Telephus, and Cresphontes, with Eurysthenes and
1100	

**B.C.** Procles (the sons of the third brother Aristodemus) succeed in their enterprise. During this time the *Ætolians* plant colonies, about 1124 B.C. on the coast of Mysia and Caria, and in the island of Lesbos.

By the successful invasion of the Heraclidæ, Argos, Sparta, Messenia, and Corinth, became Doric; the Achaians being driven out. Elis fell to the *Ætolians*, the allies of the Dorians. The Achaians fell back on the Ionians, and settled themselves in the part afterwards called Achaia. The Ionians were received by the Athenians, who were of the same race.

Sparta during the time it was peopled by the Achaians, was first governed by the princes of the house of Perseus; and then, in consequence of marriage, by Menelaus, of the house of Pelops: but under the Dorians it fell to the lot of Procles and Eurysthenes, whose descendants continued to share the sovereign power; a king being chosen from each family. Agis was the son and successor of Eurysthenes, and the two families were hence called Proclidæ and Agidæ. The distinction between Lacedemonians and Spartans took its rise probably from this conquest: the former were the Achaian cultivators, the latter the Dorian victors.

The Israelites ask a king, and Saul is chosen.

**1068** Codrus saves Athens by his voluntary death when the Dorians threatened that state. The Archons for life who succeed him, continue from 1068-752.

The Ionians, under Neleus, the son of Codrus, settle in that part of Asia Minor afterwards called Ionia, and in the islands of Samos and Chios.

Lycurgus gives laws to Sparta, and introduced Homer's poems to notice.

**783-** Spartan wars with Tegea and Argos, and affairs with Messenia.

**743** Rome founded.

**754** Archons of Athens limited to ten years magistracy, but still chosen from the family of Codrus.

**742-** First Messenian war, ended by the taking of Ithome, and the voluntary death of the Messenian king Aristodemus. The Messenians become tributary to Sparta, giving the produce of their land to the

B. C.		victors. During this war the college of Ephors was established.
		Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carries the ten tribes of Israel into captivity.
689		Gyges, king of Lydia. Flourishing state of the Ionic cities.
682		The ten years archonship abolished in Athens and yearly archons substituted.
		Aristomenes begins a struggle with Sparta for the recovery of Messenian independence. He is foiled, and Eira is taken, and the Messenians reduced to the condition of Helots.
679		Numa Pompilius, king of Rome.
650		About this period Ardyes, king of Lydia, conquers Priene in Ionia.
640		Thales born.
622		Draco, archon of Athens, publishes his code.
		Josiah finds the book of the law and enforces its observance.

B.C.	OLYMP.	
610	XLII. 3	Anaximander born ?
598	XLV. 3	Cylon endeavors to seize on the sovereign power at Athens. Jeremiah prophesied about this time. The expiation for the murder of Cylon's adherents made by Epimenides.
	LIII. 1	Solon chosen archon with a charge to revise the laws.
568	LIII. 1	Anaximenes born ?
561	LIV. 4	Tyranny of Peisistratus in Athens. Cyrus, king of Persia, ascends the throne of the Medes also.
560	LV. 1	Peisistratus is driven out.
557	— 4	Sardis taken by Cyrus, Crœsus, the king of Lydia, made prisoner, and the kingdom of Lydia added to the Persian dominions.
556	LVI. 1	Peisistratus, having allied himself by marriage with the family of Megacles, is elevated a second time to the tyranny.
552	LVII. 1	He is driven out a second time by Megacles.

B.C.	OLYMP.	
548	LVIII. 1	Death of Thales.
540	LX. 1	Phocæa besieged by the troops of Cyrus ; the inhabitants ask a truce to deliberate respecting capitulation, and in the interim embark on board their fleet, and abandon the city. They found Elea or Velia in Magna Græcia, and Massilia in Gaul, besides some settlements in Corsica.
	— 3	Pythagoras establishes his school of philosophy in Crotona.
538	— 3	Third elevation of Peisistratus to the tyranny. He reigns till his death.
536	LXI. 1	Cyrus restores the Jews to their country.
528	LXIII. 1	Death of Peisistratus.
514	LXVI. 3	Hipparchus, the son of Peisistratus, slain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton ; consequent real tyranny of Hippias : return of the Alcmæonidæ, and banishment of Hippias. Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, augments the number of the council from 400 to 500, and divides the tribes anew, making ten instead of four.
500	LXX. 1	The revolt of the Ionian states. Anaxagoras born.
496	LXXI. 1	Miletus taken by the Persians.
490	LXXII. 3	Battle of Marathon.
486	LXXIII. 3	Aristeides banished from Athens by ostracism.
480	LXXV. 1	Heroic death of Leonidas and his companions at Thermopylæ 6th July. Battle of Salamis 25th September. Anaxagoras comes to Athens this year? aged 20 years.
479	LXXV. 2	Battles of Platæa and Mycale 25th September.
478	— 3	Repeal of the law of Solon by which the Thetes were excluded from the government.
477	— 4	The long walls to Piræus built.
469	LXXVIII. 4	Socrates born. Themistocles banished by ostracism this year or the following.

B.C.	OLYMP.	
468	LXXXVIII. 1	Cimon's victories over the Persians.
466	LXXXVIII. 3	Themistocles condemned—flies to Persia.
465	— 4	Great earthquake at Sparta, and insurrection of the Helots.
461	LXXXIX. 4	Cimon banished by ostracism. Parmenides flourished about this time, and Zeno Eleates his scholar, who was 25 years his junior.
456	LXXXI. 1	Callias archon. Anaxagoras, then 44, comes to Athens a second time?
451	—	The Decemvirs established at Rome written laws, drawn up by them from those of Athens.
449	LXXXII. 4	Death of Cimon.
446	LXXXIII. 3	Pericles makes a thirty years truce with the Lacedæmonians. Public accusation of Anaxagoras, Aspasia and Pheidias. Anaxagoras is banished.
444	LXXXIV. 1	Thucydides, the son of Melesias, Pericles' political rival, banished by ostracism.
441	LXXXVII. 2	Melissus, the pupil of Parmenides, defends Samos ineffectually against the Athenians.
431	LXXXVII. 2	Outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.
430	— 3	Plato born.
429	— 4	Death of Pericles.
428	LXXXVIII. 1	Death of Anaxagoras.

# I.

## GREECE IN A SEMI-BARBAROUS STATE.

FROM 1800 B. C. TO 1044 B. C.

ABOUT eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, a barbarous horde, under the guidance of a chief named Inachus, migrated from the coast of Asia Minor to the islands and coasts opposite; which, previous to that time, if we may judge from the exploits which the traditional stories of this people assigned to their heroes,\* had been the haunts of wild beasts, which found shelter among rocks and forests as yet untrodden by the foot of man. We are not told the cause of this migration: but as we find indubitable monuments of two great empires, even at that early period, the one in Egypt and the other in India—we may perhaps add another also, bordering on the Euphrates,—it is not unreasonable to conclude that what we have seen occurring, even in our own days in North America, may have happened in this case also. The increasing force and population of a civilized people pressed upon the uncivilized tribes around: and voluntarily, or otherwise, the latter left the more fertile lands to their stronger competitors, and retreated to wilder hunting grounds. It was thus, probably, that the whole of Europe became peopled: the pressure from behind drove the more

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\* Hercules, Theseus, and others are celebrated most especially as destroyers of wild beasts. Even Apollo is chiefly famed as an expert archer, and one of his main exploits was the destruction of an enormous serpent.

barbarous tribes farther and farther north, till its most inhospitable regions were at last inhabited; for among the scanty records of our Teutonic ancestors even, we find the tradition of a chief\* with his followers arriving from Asia.

At least a century was spent by the Pelasgit in a state of the wildest barbarism; ignorant, if we may credit their own traditions, of the commonest arts of life, and wandering over the country with no settled habitation: but by degrees they associated into states, and Sicyon and Argos appear to have been under the government of their respective chiefs before 1500 b. c. Pressed on again by other tribes, the Pelasgi passed over into Italy, into Crete, and into the adjoining islands; and the four Hellenic families, the Dorians, the Achaians, the Æolians, and the Ionians, spread over the lands they retired from. Colonies, too, from the more civilized countries, from Egypt, from Phœnicia, and from Mysia, fixed themselves in different parts; and, probably, like other colonists settling among a rude people, carried with them the arts of war as well as of peace, and either by force or persuasion subjugated those whom they found in possession of the country. Cecrops, an Egyptian from Sais, is said to have founded Athens about four generations after the migration of Inachus; and Cadmus, a Phœnician, not far from that time, founded Thebes in Bœotia. About 1500 b. c. Danaus, another Egyptian, arrived in Argos, but here he found a monarchy established, and a walled town. He was allowed to bring forward his claims to admission before an assembly of the people; and they, led

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\* Odin.

† This is the name given by Greek writers to the first inhabitants or rather colonizers of the country.

by what they considered an omen sent by the gods, were induced to depose the reigning monarch, and receive Danaus in his room.\* We cannot tell what the arguments were which the Egyptian prince employed in pleading before the people: we may conjecture that the benefits of superior science were urged, since we find it recorded that Argos having previously been without water, save what fell from the heavens, the daughters of their new king taught the inhabitants the art of digging wells. Four of these wells were in after times held sacred, and received especial honors.† We may guess at the revolution in manners caused by the administration of this monarch, from the circumstance that the appellation of the people was changed from Pelasgi to Danai; a term which we find very frequently applied by Homer to all the Greeks assembled before Ilium.

The situation of Greece, with its numerous islands, soon led the people to undertake maritime and piratical expeditions. That of the Argonauts, from the mythological grandeur with which it has been so carefully invested, would appear to have been either the first or the most important. But in those times, the pirate, like the Sea Kings of the Norwegians, was a gentleman; and no discredit, as Thucydides informs us,‡ was attached to this mode of conveying away the property of others. The marauding expedition of Jason took place, probably, about 1250 b. c. It was during the times of the Judges of Israel; a period when the law of *meum* and *tuum* appears to have been very obscure all over the world.

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\* Pausan. 1. ii. c. 19, and Eurip. Orest.

† Strabo, lib. viii.

‡ Thucyd. lib. i.

Most chronologers place the Trojan war, celebrated in the *Iliad*, about 1200 b. c.\* At that time the Achaian states, for so Homer terms them, were rude, but yet raised far beyond absolute barbarism. We find bards celebrating the exploits of their heroes; Sidonian workmanship adorning their vases, and their robes; and a kind of rough luxury in the courts of their princes, which reminds us of the state of Mexico or Peru, when discovered by Cortez and Pizarro. It matters not whether we consider the Homeric poems as the work of one man, or the lays of different bards collected; still they must be valid evidence of the state of manners about that time, for their geographical correctness shows that they could not have been written any long time after the events took place. In these early ages no maps or books of travels furnished the romancist with the means of giving verisimilitude to his tale; therefore geographical precision could only have been attained by personal knowledge, or the narration of actors in the scenes recorded.

About a hundred years after this, an event occurred which for a time threatened to overcloud the dawning civilization of Achaia. This was the irruption of the Dorians, a mountain tribe, who preserved in their fastnesses much of the rudeness of their forefathers. They were invited to this invasion of the more civilized regions by the descendants of Hercules, who having been expelled by Eurystheus from the countries which they considered theirs by right of inheritance or conquest, took advantage probably of the weakness and disunion among the

Achaian states, which followed upon the Trojan war, to urge their claims anew. A first but unsuccessful

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\* From 1194 to 1184 b. c., Heeren.

attempt had been made under the guidance of *Hylus*, the son of *Hercules*, about 1180 b. c.; his descendants, having leagued with the *Ætolians* also, finally triumphed. *Argos*, *Sparta*, *Messenia*, and *Corinth*, fell under the *Dorian* rule: \* the *Achaeans*, driven step by step from their country, fell back upon the *Ionians*, who occupied the coast nearest to *Asia*; and they in their turn, driven on before the advancing tide of invasion, retreated upon *Attica*, where they were hospitably received by the *Athenians*, who sprang from the same stock. But the narrow territory of *Attica* could not long maintain so large an increase of population, and in 1044 b. c. *Androclus* and *Neleus*, the sons of that *Codrus* who by his self-devotion had saved *Athens* from *Dorian* conquest, led an *Ionian* colony back to the coast of *Asia Minor*: cities were founded, † and the province thus taken possession of, received thenceforth the name of *Ionia*. The islands of *Samos* and *Chios*

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\* Probably the dissensions between the aristocratic and popular factions in after times, had the character of a war of caste. The conquering *Dorians* had usurped the property in the soil; the conquered *Achaeans* were the cultivators, for them, of lands which were once their own. Thus it was in *Lacedæmon* where the *Spartans*, i. e., the *Dorian* conquerors, remained a distinct people from the *Lacedæmonian* cultivators, who, again, were a step above their former slaves, the *Helots*, and those who were afterwards reduced to a state of slavery. The contests for political supremacy between the patricians and plebeians of *Rome*, were probably of the same kind, for the very names of the plebeian consuls sound barbarous and strange among those of the patrician families, as if they were of a different race. We may see a modern illustration of this state of things in *Ireland*, where the conquered and the conquering people have failed to amalgamate.

† There were ten *Ionian* cities, i. e., *Phocæa*, *Erythræ*, *Clazomene*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Colophon*, *Ephesus*, *Priene*, *Myus*, and *Miletus*. The latter was the nurse of that philosophy which afterwards made *Athens* famous.

too, the latter said to have been the residence of Homer, received Ionian colonies.

Thus the civilization which was checked for a time by the conquests of the Dorian hordes, was preserved in the cities of Ionia, and sent back its missionaries, after a time, to achieve a nobler victory—that of arts and philosophy over ignorance and barbarism. From this period the people of Greece may be considered as divided into two great families, the Ionian and the Dorian, in which the others were in great measure absorbed. The Athenians may be looked upon as the representatives of the first; the Spartans of the last.

It would be a wearisome and hopeless labor were I to attempt to trace with any accuracy the theology or philosophy of these early periods, buried as they are under a mass of allegory and fable, which we have now no means of removing; yet in the very scanty records of those times, there are traces of a purer morality, and a more worthy religious belief than is exhibited in the gross mythology of the Homeric poems.\* The date assigned to the migration conducted by Inachus from the Asian shore, coincides very nearly with that of the removal of the Israelitish family into Egypt. At that time the worship prevalent among the Nomade tribes of Asia, if we may judge from the book of Job, seems to have been that of One Almighty Creator, typified by, and already beginning to be confounded with the light,

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\* Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 53, gives it as his opinion that Homer and Hesiod were the *inventors* of the genealogies and names of the gods; and Diogenes Laertius reports that Pythagoras was said to have descended into the infernal regions, and to have there seen Homer and Hesiod suffering various punishments for what they had reported about the gods. Diog. Laert. in *vitâ Pythag.*, lib. viii. § 21.

or sun ; the rest of the heavenly bodies sharing in the reverence paid to the apparent source of life. Herodotus states that at Dodona he was told that they had formerly sacrificed and prayed to the Deity in general, without giving any name or names to the object of their worship ; but that after a long time, the names of the gods were brought them from Egypt. Plato mentions a tradition of one God governing the universe, though generally in so strangely disguised a form that we may fancy that the fate of his master Socrates inspired him with some fear of speaking too plainly.\* Aristoteles is more explicit, and avers,† that “ it was an ancient saying received by all from their ancestors, that all things exist by and through the power of God . . . . who being One was known by many names according to his modes of manifestation.”

The very early division of the more polished nations of India and Egypt into castes, which occasioned a separation of the priesthood from the people, was probably the cause then, as it always has been, of a grosser worship on the part of the latter. The learned sacerdotal caste reserved to itself the more abstruse parts of theology ; partly perhaps from a natural desire to keep up the superiority which, however acquired, is always gratifying ; and partly, too, from an opinion that the doctrine was too sublime for the comprehension of the ignorant multitude. Then came the plan of teaching the people by symbols which, from their more tangible nature, were likely to impress themselves on the recollection better than abstract truths. The key to these mysterious symbols was in the hands of the priests ; and possibly they

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\* Plato, *Politicus* and *Timæus*.

† Aristot. *de Mundo*, c. 6, 7.

themselves hardly knew how far the people in general had lost sight of their original meaning. We may turn to times nearer our own for an almost parallel instance: for when the irruption of barbarians into the Roman empire gave the Christian ministers the superiority in learning, they soon were tempted to use it in the same way. Feigned miracles and a more gross and tangible worship were made use of to subjugate or to captivate the minds of the ignorant people about them; for, finding them too rude to be argued into a better faith, they thought that by first obtaining a superstitious reverence, they might finally guide them to better things.\* They forgot that when they had loaded religion with ceremonial observances, there was danger that even the priests themselves, at some future time, might possibly become infected with the general superstition, and suffer the substance to escape whilst they were grasping the shadow of truth.

Doubtless the sacerdotal caste of Egypt retained for a considerable time the remembrance of the occult meaning of the symbols they used; and supposed they were preserving the knowledge of a theology whose vivifying influence they were daily losing more and more, as it became a source of worldly advantage, till at last they saw in it only a fable which was useful to them.† They, too, had to encounter at

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\* When the pagan Anglo-Saxons were first converted to Christianity, we find Gregory, the Roman bishop, thus writing to the missionaries he had sent into Britain—"And because they (the Saxons) have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifices to devils, some solemnity must be exchanged for them . . . to the end that whilst some gratifications are outwardly permitted them, they may the more readily consent to the inward consolation of the grace of God." Bede's Eccles. Hist., chap. 30.

† The transition from Gregory indulging his heathen converts with solemnities in honor of "the nativities of the holy

times the invasion of barbarians, on whose superstitious fears they might depend for safety : or they had to resist, as a corporation, the encroachment of monarchs upon their privileges, in which contest, again, the superstition of the people was an useful ally. Thus the motives for encouraging a grosser worship were strong ; the danger was remote, and at that time unknown. Few, even now after the experience of ages, seem to be aware that there must be a rational conviction of the truth of our faith ere it will influence the heart and life : and it has been the error of all ages to imagine that it is better to keep the people ignorant, and obedient to guidance, than to give them the light which will enable them to guide themselves. The difficulty of the undertaking has generally been the first discouragement : indolence and the love of power have usually done the rest.

ORPHEUS is the person to whom ancient writers have attributed the introduction of a multitude of gods. He is said to have been a Thracian ;—to have accompanied Jason and the other Argonauts on their piratical expedition,—to have visited Egypt,—and to have brought from thence the doctrines with which he afterwards corrupted the rude but simple theology of Greece. The poems and hymns attributed to him are many of them considered to be spurious, or much interpolated ; but as far as ancient testimony goes, there seems little doubt that the doctrine he taught was that of ONE SELF-EXISTENT

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martyrs, to the end that THEY may the more easily consent to the inward consolations of God”—to Leo X. exclaiming,—“ This fable of Jesus Christ has been very useful to us”—is curious and instructive. The step had then been made from the apostolically-minded though ill-judging prelate, to the selfish maintainer of the interests of his caste.

God, the Maker of all things, who is present to us in all His works: but this great truth was disguised under a mass of fables.\* We may take as a specimen one of those which has reached us. "The origin of the earth was ocean: when the water subsided, mud remained, and from both of these sprang a living creature;—a dragon having the head of a lion growing from it, and in the midst, the face of God: by name Hercules or Chronos," (time.) By him an immense egg was produced, which being split into two parts, one became the heavens, the other the earth. Heaven and earth mingled, and produced Titans or Giants.†

Material things having been produced by some mysterious operation of the Divinity upon Chaos, all were held to be imbued with a portion of the Divine Essence: and as, according to the doctrine of the sacerdotal caste, the Supreme Deity was too mighty to be approached by the vulgar, every object in nature was, as it were, deified, for the use of the people; and the portion of the Divinity by which it was supposed to be animated, had a peculiar name given to it, by which it might be invoked. The initiated, for the mysteries are said to owe their commencement to Orpheus, were taught that the One Supreme Deity was the source of all, and that the tutelary gods of air, fire, earth, &c., were in fact only emanations of his power, made manifest to men by tangible and visible objects. But when the Most High was no longer to be approached by the vulgar, the especial manifestation was soon individualized, and a polytheism which probably the first intro-

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\* See Cudworth, *Syst. Int.* cap. iv. § 17, and Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* pars ii. lib. i. cap. 1, where the Orphic doctrines are fully discussed.

† Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* p. 17, folio ed.

ducers of this mysterious doctrine never contemplated, was built upon it.

It is curious that to this day the rude tribes of Africa and of North America retain something of this early doctrine: the fetiche of the Negro, and the "medicine bag" or amulet of the Red Man, both consist of insignificant objects supposed to have some mysterious, in-dwelling, Divine potency linked to, yet quite distinct in nature from the object visible to the eyes. The fetiche in Africa even now is not unfrequently a stone or a tree, or some other inanimate object; and if we look back into the early times we are treating of, we shall find the same thing. The representation of the Cithaeronian Juno, worshiped by the Thespians, was the trunk of a tree:—another of the Samian Juno, was a branch or log, afterwards fashioned into something of a human shape by the order of Procleus the Archon. Diana and Ceres were represented in like manner: \* and the Dioscuri among the old Spartans had no image save two beams or trunks of trees, united by two transverse pieces. † The ancient Romans worshiped the god of war, under the form of a spear; the Scythians deified a sabre; the Arabs, down to the time of Mahomed even, had their sacred stone. We might have been puzzled by these short notices, had we not an instance of this kind of early worship recorded more at length. When the patriarch Jacob had

\* Clem. Alex. Protrept. c. 4. See also Tertull. adv. Gentes. Lucan, in his description of the sacred grove felled by Cæsar's orders, describes the representations of the Deities as rude trunks of trees.

..... "Simulacraque mœsta deorum  
Arte carent, cæsisque extent informia truncis."  
Pharsal. lib. iii. l. 411.

† Plutarch, De amor. frat.

had a divine vision, he awoke out of his sleep, and said, "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven." And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for a pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it, and vowed, "If God will be with me . . . so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house ; and of all that Thou shalt give me, surely I will give the tenth unto Thee." This place he called Bethel:—some centuries later Bethel was an idolatrous temple. The history of this one was probably the history of all.

The mysterious doctrine of Orpheus which gave tangibility and distinctness to the notions of the Deity, soon struck the imagination of the poet: Homer and Hesiod took it up, and finished the individualizing process, by giving names and forms\* to the various sub-deities of the different powers of nature. Yet these were, for a long time, only the poetical version of the old belief:—the One Supreme God still held the reins, and Destiny was looked up to as the ruler of these sub-gods, no less than of men. Æschylus, whose tragic genius found fitter matter in the simple, but sublime traditions of his forefathers, than in the ridiculous and disgusting tales of the Homeric mythology, has handed down to our days this part of the still popular faith, in his noble drama of Prometheus Chained: where he represents Jupiter as sending to beg from the prophet

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\* Athenagoras, after quoting Herodotus for the above assertion respecting Homer, adds, that until the statuaries had given human shape to the gods, they had not been named even.

the knowledge of the yet future decrees of Destiny. Prometheus, who pretends to no foreknowledge but that of some few of these decrees which had been communicated to him, indignantly refuses to gratify the curiosity of his oppressor; who, in consequence, inflicts further tortures upon him, but cannot obtain the desired prediction. The expressions put into the mouth of Prometheus are remarkable,\* and the whole drama so wars against our general notions of the popular belief at that time, that in order to explain the possibility of such a public recitation being permitted and approved, we must suppose an under-current of a very different theology from that of Hesiod. The invectives which the oppressed Titan utters against the *new* power of Jove; the allusions

\* ΠΡ. οὐ τᾶυτα ταύτη μοῖρα πω τελεσθόρος  
κρᾶναι πέπρωται . . . .  
τέχνη δ' ανάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῷ  
ΧΟ. τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἔστιν οἰανοστρόφος;  
ΠΡ. Μοῖραι τείμορφοι, μνήμονές τ' Ἐριννες  
ΧΟ. τούτων ἀξα Ζεύς ἔστιν ἀσθενέστερος;  
ΠΡ. οὐκ οὖν ἀν ἐκφύγοις γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.

PROM. Fate, which brings about its own ends,  
Has not ordained this to be . . .

Art is much weaker than Destiny.

CHO. But who holds the rudder of Destiny?

PROM. The three formed Fates, the ever remembering Avenger.

CHO. Is Jupiter weaker than these?

PROM. He cannot escape from what is fated.

The masculine adjective attached to the feminine substantive *Μοῖραι*, shows sufficiently that this poet, at least, had not the three old spinning women in his mind when he wrote the above passage. Aristoteles says in his treatise *περὶ κοσμοῦ*, c. 7: οἵματι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ανάγκην οὐκ ἀλλό τι λέγεσθαι, πλὴν τοῦτον, οἰοντεὶ α' κίνητον οὐσίαν ὄντα. "I think indeed that Destiny is nothing else but this,—i. e. God—so called from his unchangeableness." This philosopher adds that the three fates meant the past, present, and future.

to wars in which he had himself assisted him, &c., lead us back very naturally to the time of the first colonization of Greece: and we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the Nature-worship of Orpheus had been mixed up with Hero-worship also, and that the Jupiter of the poets was little else than a successful Cretan pirate, who, with his companions, drove out the Asian chief who was beginning to civilize the people, and banished him to the wild regions of the Caucasus. If several centuries had elapsed between Prometheus, supposing such a person to have existed, and Hesiod, it was quite long enough, in times when song was the only record, to have invested conquerors, or benefactors of the human race, with some supernatural attributes; a kind of pre-eminence which every master mind, in times of ignorance, is sure to attain.

The result, then, of the inquiry thus far, appears to be, that the first colonizers of Greece brought with them much of the simple faith and worship which we find recorded in the early Hebrew writings: a stone or a trunk of a tree was set up for a memorial, and the sons of him who had there experienced some deliverance, or been alarmed by some dream, worshiped where their ancestor had done, that Great Being whose rule they acknowledged, but whose name they ventured not to pronounce.\* Superstitious practices doubtless were mingled with this worship: the vow of Jephthah had more than its parallel in the sacrifice of Iphigenia and of Polyxena.† It was this ferocious race that Orpheus,

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\* Plutarch makes it a question why the Romans did not permit the god who especially protected Rome to be named, or made a subject of idle inquiry? Another proof that every nation felt that there was a Most HIGH, whom they regarded with awe.

† These events must all have occurred within thirty years.

the polished and learned traveler, endeavored to humanize. Perhaps he imagined that his hidden doctrine would improve those of a higher rank, who were likely to be initiated; while the minds of the vulgar would be amused by his fables, and weaned from more gloomy superstitions by the worship of Divine Benevolence, as manifested in the different powers of nature. But however well meant the attempt, it failed of its object: the grossness of an ignorant age converted the different manifestations into separate Deities; and as, in later times, the crucifix or the image of the Virgin in some particular church was held to be more efficacious than any other, and to have some especial virtue of its own; so some particular representation or memorial of the Divine power was deemed more wonder-working than another, and different cities came to have their tutelary stone, or log, or finally,—statue. The temple was built on the spot which early and pure devotion had hallowed, as was the case at Bethel: the men of the age when it was erected saw only the honor done to the place where their earliest feelings of piety had been awakened; and it was only in times far subsequent, that the cause of its first consecration was forgotten, and the image which reposed in that gorgeous fane became the object of ignorant worship, and the source of profit to a mercenary priesthood.

## II.

### GREECE UNDER ITS SAGES.

FROM 1044 B. C. TO 512 B. C.

WE have already taken a slight view of the fortunes of the early colonizers of Hellas up to the invasion of the Dorian hordes,\* whose conquests drove the more civilized inhabitants forward towards the coast, and the territory of Attica, whence they re-colonized Asia Minor, and founded the cities of Ionia. From that time during a period of nearly three hundred years, tradition scarcely furnishes an event save the extensive colonization of the islands and coasts adjacent, by Æolians, and Dorians, as well as Ionians, a silent proof of the increasing population, and maritime enterprise, of the different states. The death of Codrus, the Athenian ruler, had left room for a contest as to the succession to the throne; and during the disputes of the two competitors, a third party had arisen, which refused to allow any other king than Jupiter.† The elder son of Codrus obtained the sanction of the Delphian oracle, and the democratic party were conciliated by what was ostensibly a compliment to Codrus. No one was worthy to bear the same title with this heroic monarch; his son therefore was only allowed the title of Archon, accompanied with some limitation of the regal power. His descendants continued to enjoy

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\* This event is sometimes called “The return of the Heraclidae.”

† Schol. Aristoph. Nub. quoted by Mitford in his Hist. of Greece.

this rank till 752 b. c. when, without any assigned cause, the archonship was rendered a magistracy of ten years duration only, though still confined to the family of Codrus. History says nothing, but we may reasonably conclude, from such an event, that the great families were becoming powerful: that acts of oppression had been committed by the hereditary archons, which had alienated the affections of the commonalty, and that the nobility, by their aid, effected a revolution which put the main power of the state into their own hands; for as the selection of archon was henceforward vested in them, he became little better than their puppet. After a lapse of seventy years, during which, as before, no event is noted, a farther change was made in the government: the Archonship for ten years was abolished; the office was now to be held for one year only, and its power was divided among nine persons, who were chosen by lot from among the nobility. This farther change was followed, as might be expected, by contests among the principal families for the power now within their reach, and attempts to seize upon the sovereignty.

During this time Sparta was engaged in a twenty years war with Messenia,\* and its events may give some notion of the manners of the times. It took place about the time when the ten tribes of Israel were carried into captivity by Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, and a little after the foundation of Rome. We find the King of Messenia encouraging his men to a desperate resistance, by depicting the miseries which would attend a defeat: their wives and children would be carried into hopeless slavery, their temples would be plundered and burnt, and their

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\* From 742—722 b. c.

country desolated.\* When defeated, they apply to the oracle at Delphi, and receive a command to sacrifice a virgin of the blood of Epytus to the infernal deities; whereupon Aristodemus, a nobleman of that family, proffers his own daughter as a sacrifice, whom he afterwards slays with his own hands,† and dissects, in order to show that she had not been contaminated, as had been asserted, in order to save her life.

The war ended by reducing the Messenians to the condition of farmers of their own lands for the benefit of Sparta; a state of things not likely to be long brooked by a high-spirited, and, till then, independent people: the same year which was signalized by the change in the Athenian government to annual Archons, was marked also by the beginning of a second Messenian war, in which the gallant Aristomenes strove to free his countrymen from their bondage. The Spartans, alarmed by his exploits, consulted the Delphian oracle, and received for answer that they should seek a counselor from Athens; but the Athenians, when called upon to comply with the commands of the god, unwilling to aid the growing strength of Sparta, picked out a person they thought little likely to be useful; the lame Tyrtæus,—hitherto known only as a teacher of grammar, which, in those times, when prose writing was little practised, included the art of poetry, and probably of rhetoric. Athens, it seems, had not yet been taught the power of words over the mind:—the Messenians learnt it to their cost:—the songs of Tyrtæus, worthy of a better cause, inspirited the defeated Spartans, and

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\* Pausan. lib. iv. c. 7.

† About fifty years before this, the King of Moab in like manner, when defeated, offered his own son and heir for a burnt offering. See 2 Kings iii. 27.

the sword of Aristomenes proved weak against the might of poesy: Messenia again lay at the feet of her ruthless conquerors, and they used their advantage barbarously: the Helots of after times, who were periodically hunted down like wild beasts, were chiefly Messenians.

The change of government in Athens, had either been caused by, or was attended with great popular disorders. Notwithstanding the severe code of laws promulgated by Draco, during his archonship, the great families still engaged in bloody dissensions; and about 598 b. c. Cylon, a man of noble, though not regal descent, seized on the citadel, and endeavored to make himself sole ruler: Megacles, then archon, and of the family of Codrus, opposed him; after a short struggle he fled, and his adherents took sanctuary at the most sacred of all the altars of Athens, that of the Eumenides, or avengers. They were lured from thence by treachery, and massacred; a sacrilege which was for a long time urged as a cause for banishing all connections of the family engaged in it.

Wearied at last by civil broils, and the revolts of subject states consequent upon them, all eyes in Athens were turned upon one man, as the only person capable of reforming the state. SOLON was made archon, with full power to re-model the constitution. After promulgating his laws,\* he proceeded to travel in other countries, and in his absence Peisistratus possessed himself, by a stratagem, of the sovereignty. Notwithstanding the mode of attaining it, both he and his sons used their power well: the

\* 594 b. c. They will be found at length in Mitford's History of Greece, chap. v. sect. 4, or more briefly in Heeren's Handbuch der Geschichte der Staaten des Alterthums, part iii. § 14, a work of extraordinary merit.

laws of Solon were maintained; Athens was beautified; means were taken for humanizing the citizens by the introduction of the fine arts; charitable provision was made for orphans, for the infirm and aged; and in the absence of books, moral sentences were inscribed in conspicuous places: \* the state was respected abroad, and enjoyed peace at home. This state of things was changed by the assassination of Hipparchus, the younger of Peisistratus's two sons, in consequence of a private pique. † Hippias the elder brother, equally incensed and alarmed, began to seek foreign alliances for his family, and to rule with great severity at home, which soon disgusted the people; the banished family of Megacles returned, and, with the aid of the Spartans, and the now discontented Athenians, expelled him. Cleisthenes, the son of Megacles, assumed the chief rule, and the first innovation in the laws of Solon was made by increasing the number of tribes from four to ten, and that of the great council from four hundred to five

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\* "These tyrants," says Thucydides, dwelling mockingly on the word applied to them by Athenian tradition, "These tyrants greatly cultivated wisdom and virtue." Thucyd. lib. vi. The poor-law above mentioned, was extended to all who by mutilation, sickness, or age, were incapable of maintaining themselves; and amounted to from one to two oboli per diem, which was sufficient to purchase the necessaries of life: orphans were maintained and educated at the expense of the state, up to the age of eighteen, when they were armed and placed in the army. See Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens.

† The conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, though hymned by the Athenians of after times as the struggle of free men against tyranny, is said by the dispassionate Thucydides to have originated in motives as impure as the execution of their plan, if it had been merely for the overthrow of the tyranny, was unsuccessful. But the hated rival was destroyed, which, probably, was the chief consideration. The attempt was no less unpopular than unsuccessful, for Aristogeiton, who escaped the guards, was seized by the people, and most unmercifully handled.

hundred. But though the change probably had in view the giving a somewhat more popular form to the government, or at least the curbing the power of the adherents of the banished family, no single ruler could be brooked: Cleisthenes and his Spartan allies were forcibly opposed and defeated, and the aristocratic form of government in Athens was confirmed.

The period which has just been slightly glanced over was fertile in great men. The power which mental cultivation affords to its possessor was for the most part nobly used; and few purer or more disinterested philanthropists are to be found than the lawgivers and sages of this period, whose names have been handed down to us by the gratitude of their fellow-citizens. The names of Zaleucus, Charondas, Lycurgus, and Solon, are still famous as having been able legislators; and if they failed to produce a perfect code, we may admit for them all, the excuse which Solon made for himself, when asked if he had given the Athenians the best possible laws, according to his own opinion. The sage replied that he had not; but that he had given them the best they were capable of receiving.\* From Moses downwards this has probably been the case, for the attempt to cut down prejudices all at once, and to change the whole customs and manners of a nation, would but end in the destruction of the imprudent innovator, without improving the people; unless, as in the case of Christianity, the system was supported by superhuman means.

The custom of Greece gave the title of *Σοφος*, or sage, to those who excelled their fellows in science, or moral worth. It is fabled, or perhaps the tale

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\* Plutarch in *Vitâ Solonis*.

may be a fact, that a golden tripod having been drawn up in their nets by some fishermen of Miletus, a quarrel arose as to its possession. The oracle at Delphi was consulted, and the dissension was allayed by its award of the tripod “to the wisest.” The Milesians, by common consent, then offered it to their countryman Thales, who, with a laudable modesty, sent it on to Bias of Priene, who transferred it to Pittacus, and Pittacus to another yet, till it came seventhly to Solon, who finding no other mortal worthy of it, dedicated it to Apollo, as the only wise.\*

The names of the seven among whom the tripod thus passed round, are differently given by different authors. THALES is, however, always placed at the head of them. He was a native of Miletus, in that Ionia where Grecian civilization had sought an asylum from Dorian barbarism ; and he is looked up to as the founder of the Ionic school of philosophy, so fruitful in great men ; and which closed its bright career by imbuing with its doctrines the son of a stone-cutter, who, in spite of humble birth and poverty, won for himself the most illustrious name in all antiquity ; and whose purity of doctrine, and holiness of life, wrung from Erasmus the acknowledgment, that when he perused the life of this heathen, he felt tempted to exclaim, “*Sancte Socrates ! ora pro nobis !*”

At an earlier period legislation and political science had alone attracted the notice of the sage ; but attention was now turned to the natural sciences also. “Thales, the Milesian,” says Cicero, “who was the first who made such things a subject of inquiry, said that water was the origin of all things ; but God the

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\* See Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* p. ii. lib. i. c. 2.

mind which formed all things from it.”\* There is in this a striking parallelism to the history of creation given by Moses, scarcely to be accounted for, unless we suppose his opinions on this head derived from tradition. Thales had visited Egypt: he was somewhat junior to the Prophet Isaiah, and such an event as the destruction of Sennacherib’s army could not but have made a strong impression on surrounding nations. The sage, traveling for information, could therefore scarcely avoid the having his attention drawn to the Hebrew records; which is made the more probable from an expression which Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates; that, for the higher doctrines of theology, his disciples must go to the barbarians.† The other opinions of Thales, as far as we have them recorded, are these—“God is the eldest of all things, for he is without beginning.‡ Death differs not from life, the soul being immortal,”—as a consequence of which, he believed the universe to be full of the disembodied souls of good and bad men, called by the Greeks *dæmons*. When asked “if a bad man could hide his evil actions from the Divine power?” “Not even his evil thoughts,” he replied; and when farther questioned, “how to lead an honorable and a just life?” he answered, “By not doing ourselves what we blame in others.” When asked “what is fairest?” he replied, “The world, for it is the work of God.”§

Thales is said to have had no teacher but the priests of Egypt; under their tuition, and by his own industry, however, he made considerable progress in geometry and astronomy. He is said to have sacri-

\* Cicero de Nat. Deor l. i. c. 10.

† Plato Dial. Phœdon.

§ Diog. Laert. lib. i. § 35, 36, 37.

‡ *ἀγένντος.*

ficed an ox in thankfulness for the discovery that a right angled triangle could be inscribed in half a circle; and to have measured the pyramids, by comparing the length of the shadow with his own. In astronomy his opinions probably were clearer than his reporters make them. His first assertion that night preceded the day, is again in conformity with the Hebrew account; he is farther said to have considered the stars and moon to be of terrestrial substance, the former ignited, the latter giving light by reflection from the sun. His disciples are said to have taught that the earth was in the centre of the system;\* but as that doctrine is elsewhere stated to have been first broached by Parmenides,† it is probable that Thales himself did not teach this. He is recorded to have predicted a total eclipse of the sun, which occurred in his time; the first calculated eclipse on record.‡ He considered that all bodies, though almost infinitely divisible, were composed of atoms, i. e. particles incapable of farther division; and in this he was followed by Pythagoras :§ and he was no stranger to the magnetic and electric properties of the loadstone, and of amber. He is said to have considered these substances as endowed with souls;|| yet considering the decline of Grecian literature at the time the accounts which have reached us were written, considering too that the use of the mariner's compass was known, and had been known from time immemorial in some of the countries visit-

\* Plutarch. *de Placitis Phil.* l. iii. c. 2.

† Diog. Laert. in vit. Parmen.

‡ Cic. *de Divin.* l. i. c. 49.

§ Plut. *de Placitis Phil.* l. i. c. 16.

|| Aristoteles notices this opinion with regard to the loadstone in his treatise *de anima*, arguing from it that Thales must have considered the soul a force capable of causing movement, since he attributed a soul to the loadstone. *De Anim.* lib. i. c. 2.

ed by Vasco de Gama;\* we may give Thales credit for more knowledge on these subjects than either Plutarch or Diogenes Laertius was able to explain; probably as much as we ourselves possessed up to the middle of the last century. Such were the extraordinary strides in knowledge made by one man almost unassisted; we cannot wonder that his countrymen voted him the tripod. He lived to the age of ninety, and died full of years and honor, at the representation of the Olympic games, 540 b. c. Paganism had not then become bigoted to falsehood, as was the case in after times, when the idolatry of the people became a part of the polity of states; and Thales could profess without reproach, what afterwards sent Anaxagoras into banishment, and cost Socrates his life.

EPIMENIDES of Crete has by some been placed among the seven sages of Greece: at any rate he was in habits of intimacy with them. He is, however, more noted as a man of piety and holy life, then as deeply versed in science. He was sent for to Athens after the massacre of Cylon's adherents, to purify the city from the guilt which was supposed to have incurred the wrath of the gods, and occasioned a pestilence. Various lustrations were used by him; among other ceremonies, he ordered a certain number of white and black sheep to be let loose on Mars' hill,† and wherever they lay down, he directed that an altar should be built to the god to whom that spot belonged: but to this god no name was allowed to be given. The order was scrupulously obeyed: seven centuries later, Paul, the apostle, stood upon this spot, pointed to the altar of the unknown God,

\* See Bailly, *Hist. de l'Astronomie*.

† *Ἄρειον ηράγος*. The court of Areopagus was held here.

and spoke the doctrine boldly, which Epimenides had been too timid to give utterance to, or which perhaps he had but dimly discerned. A painter could not ask a finer subject than the intrepid apostle, laying his hand on that altar, which neither the arms of Xerxes, nor the yet more destructive force of time had injured, raising the other to heaven, and exclaiming to the astonished Athenians, “Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you—THE GOD THAT MADE HEAVEN AND EARTH!”

Many fabulous stories are told of Epimenides, and it is said that after his death divine honors were awarded him by his admiring countrymen; what is more certain, is, that he declined all the riches offered him by the Athenians, and asked only a free passage home, and their friendship for the Gnossians his townsmen.\*

SOLON, by general consent has been placed among the wise seven. Younger than Thales and Epimenides, he was nevertheless intimate with both, and, like the former, appears to have made considerable proficiency in the natural sciences; for it is said that he corrected the reckoning of the lunar month made by Thales. His fame, however, rests mainly upon his laws, which, according to the state of society they were intended for, were probably wise ones, and as good as could have been promulgated without personal danger. What that state was, we may gather from what remains to us of his code. By his laws all freemen were divided into four ranks, determined by the amount of property. The first rank consisted of those whose land produced them yearly five hundred measures† of corn, wine, oil, or

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\* Diog. Laert. lib. i. § 111.

† Medimni. A medimnus was about 12 gallons.

any other commodity of this kind :—the second rank must possess, in like manner, a yearly revenue of three hundred measures. These two were exempt from service on shipboard, and in the infantry; but they were bound to keep a horse for the service of the public; and, within the age of military service, to serve personally in the cavalry. Hence they had the title of *Hippeis*, Horsemen, or, as the word is often translated, Knights. The third rank, called *Zeugites*, were of persons whose lands produced two hundred measures, but less than three hundred. These were bound to serve in the infantry, among the heavy armed, and to be provided with complete arms for the purpose. The rest of the citizens, not possessed of lands yielding two hundred measures, were comprehended under the name of *Thetes*. These also were bound to military service; and if provided with sufficient armor, might increase the force of the heavy armed; if not, they served among the light armed and on board the fleet.\* The offices of the state could only be filled by those of the three first classes, but all the four had a voice in the election of magistrates, in the decision of criminal cases as jurors—and in the general assembly of the people. The highest court was that of *Areopagus*: it consisted of all those who had passed through the office of archon with credit. Next to that was the senate, or council, as it is generally called: chosen by lot from the different wards or tribes of Attica: at first, when they were four, an hundred from each; afterwards, when Cleisthenes divided the country afresh into ten wards, fifty were chosen from each, making up five hundred whose characters were required to be such as would bear a strict scrutiny, which was

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\* *Mitford's Hist. of Greece, Chap. v. Sect. 5.*

instituted previous to their admission: a law which tells of a still simple state of manners. In this council the business was prepared for the general assembly of the people, whose consent was needful to the enactment of any new law. Besides these there were regular courts of judicature, and judges likewise made their circuits through the different districts, to administer the laws without giving plaintiffs the trouble of coming to Athens.

Slavery was continued unmodified; and therein the code of Solon falls far behind that of Moses, which, in an earlier age, and among a less civilized people, had considerably ameliorated the condition of the captive. In barbarous times, the granting the vanquished his life was considered as an act of mercy, and the life thus granted was held thenceforward to belong to the victor: the necessity of personal service in war, often caused the cultivation of the land to be neglected; it seemed natural, therefore, to employ captives in remedying the evils of the war, by bringing the neglected soil into fertility; and the system, once begun, was too convenient to be abandoned. Thus a state of society sprung up, which we can scarcely comprehend, and which put the great mass of the people beyond the pale of the law. Both in Athens and Sparta, the slaves greatly outnumbered the freemen. But such a state of things carries in it the seeds of decay; the free citizens learn to despise honest industry, and to practice oppression; the moral feeling becomes depraved, and the beneficial effect of independence on the human character is lost amid the license of tyranny.

It has been often and well remarked, that the degree of civilization among any people may be judged from the condition of its women. Endued with less of physical strength, that sex can only assume its

due place where the powers of the mind are more honored than those of the body; and if we are to assume this as a criterion, we must place Athens low in the scale. The laws of Solon forbid a man to *sell* a daughter or a sister unless she shall have been guilty of unchastity: thus it is evident that the whole sex was viewed in the light of domestic slaves, and their injuries were noticed in the law, only in the proportion that it affected him whose property they were considered to be. Thus an adulterer was punished with death, while he who committed violence on a free woman, while single, was subjected only to a paltry fine.\* The degraded state in which Solon found and left that sex, led to a depravation of manners in Athens, and in the states of Greece generally, which, happily, has no parallel in modern times. It would be a relief to pass over so disgusting a subject in total silence, but as, even in our own days, there are some who shut their eyes to the evil effect on society resulting from the degradation of one half of it, there may be some advantage in bringing forward an extreme case, to show that the deficiency in principles of justice which leads to the denial of equal rights to the one sex, very soon leads also to the oppression of the other.

The next in the list of the honored of Greece is CHEILON of Lacedæmon, one of the Ephori of that state. We have nothing left of his but a few moral sentences, and the testimony of those who have reported them, that his life was in full conformity with his precepts. Among these the injunction, “ Not to slander our neighbors—to be more ready to share the misfortunes than the prosperity of our friends—to keep watch over ourselves—to suffer harm rather

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\* Plutarch in *Vitâ Solonis*.

than take a dishonest gain—to be meek when in power—to bear injuries patiently—to seek peace—to honor age—to obey the laws," are such as an Apostle might give, and an Apostle practice. He died as he had lived, honored and happy ; in the embrace of his son, who had just been crowned victor in one of the Olympic games,\* exhausted, it is said, by old age and joy ; and has left a fame behind him which the best might envy, for it is the fame of quiet, peaceful virtue, unstained by blood, even in a barbarous age.

PITTACUS of Mitylene, the metropolis of the island of Lesbos, is also reckoned among the sages of Greece ; but his name must stand far behind that of Cheilon. His manhood was signalized by the assassination of the then tyrant, or ruler of Lesbos. He himself assumed the government, and conducted it well for ten years ;† during which he enacted salutary laws, and at the end of that period, being required by the citizens to descend from his eminence, he did so with a good grace, and lived ten years longer, in complete privacy. One or two of his sayings are remarkable :—" Do not speak evil of your friend, nor even of your enemy—the gods cannot contend with Destiny—it is difficult to be worthy." And then follows what doubtless, if he deserved the name his countrymen gave him, he must have deeply felt—" Victories should be won without blood,"—and with this sad acknowledgment on his part, that his greatness stood on a false foundation, we will take our leave of Pittacus—great *for* his time, but not *beyond* his time.

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\* Diog. Laert. lib. i. § 72.

† Aristoteles quotes the poet Alcæus to show that Pittacus exercised his power tyrannically. Polit. lib. iii. c. 10.

BIAS of Priene also received the tripod. One of his apothegms is, " Speak of the gods as they are," a sentence which implies much; and he inculcated humility, by enjoining, " Whatever thou dost of good, refer it to the gods." His death was patriarchal: for, having undertaken the defence of a friend before the tribunal, on finishing his speech he sat down in apparent weariness, and rested his head on the bosom of his daughter's son, who was there. The adversary's advocate replied; judgment was pronounced in favor of the friend of Bias, and the court being dissolved, the old man, when they tried to rouse him, was found dead in the lap of his grandson: so peaceably had his spirit fled that none had perceived it.\*

CLEOBULUS, another of the seven, was, according to the phrase of the time, tyrant, i. e. ruler of Lindos, a town of Rhodes, and yielded in no point to his illustrious friends. He had visited Egypt in quest of science, and had profited by his travels; for his government of the small community he ruled over was just and wise; and he, and his no less accomplished daughter, are celebrated for the gentle virtues they displayed in their elevated rank.† The writings and learning of this princess are celebrated by ancient authors, but none of them have reached us. The sayings of Cleobulus accord with his character:—" Do good to your friends that their friendship may be strengthened, to your enemies that they may become friends:—let your daughters when you give them in marriage, though girls in age, be women in understanding," " by which," says the writer of his life with a laughable astonishment, " he implies that

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\* Diog. Laert. l. i. § 84.

† Cleobulina was wont to wash the feet of her father's guests with her own hands. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. c. 19.

*even girls should be instructed.”\** “Be more eager to hear than to speak:—avoid injustice:—bridle the love of pleasure:—do violence to no man:—instruct your children:—keep up no enmities.”

PERIANDER, the son and successor of Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, has by some been placed among the wise seven, though his claim is very questionable, except in so far as he was a patron of learning. He appears to have been on intimate terms with most of the sages of his times, and if he was by them complimented with the tripod, it was probably but a compliment.

PHEREKYDES has also been named by some, as numbered among the seven sages of Greece, though it is hardly certain that he was of Grecian birth. He is said to have asserted the immortality of the soul,† and if *Ælian* is to be credited, was a hardy contemner of the superstitions of his time. His works are lost, and he is chiefly remembered as the first writer of prose, and the instructor of a far greater man, whose commanding mind left its impress for ages on the countries where he taught. This man was PYTHAGORAS.

Those who now visit Calabria would scarcely suppose, from the present appearance of the country, that it was once the seat of philosophy, and of luxury. In fact, *Magna Græcia*,—for its numerous Greek colonies won it that name in ancient times,—has scarcely anything left to attract the traveler; and there is nothing to remind us of its former glories but here and there a village whose inhabitants still retain the language of their forefathers.† But in the

\* *Diog. Laert.* lib. i. § 91.

† *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. c. 16.*

‡ Some years back, when traveling in that country, I was as-

days which I am now describing, the southern extremity, just above Cape Spartivento, was occupied by the Locrians, whose lawgiver, Zaleucus, is still celebrated: a little higher, bordering on the now Gulf of Tarento, was situated the city of Sybaris, so famed for the luxury and effeminacy of its inhabitants; and between these two, not far from the present Capo delle Colonne, was placed Crotona, where, after traveling over the larger part of the civilized world, Pythagoras established his school of philosophy.

It matters little where a man was born whose fame identifies him with the progress of the human mind in general: most, however, agree that Pythagoras was a Samian, and that his birth occurred either about 586 or 568 b. c., a difference of date quite unimportant to the present purpose. His early history is involved in much obscurity, but it seems allowed on all hands, that, at some period of his life, he traveled into every country which was likely to afford him knowledge: indeed, that this was the chief purpose of his life, may be gathered from the reply he made when asked what his profession was. It was at once modest and expressive: "I am a lover of knowledge,"\* said he; and the distinction was afterwards adopted by all who devoted their time to science.

Having matured his understanding by this careful cultivation, he began to apply it to the benefit of his fellow-men, and opened a school of philosophy at

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sured that there were still three or four villages where the ancient Greek was yet spoken by the inhabitants. The difficulties of the journey, and the time it would have taken, prevented me from going thither to verify this curious fact.

\* *Φιλόσοφος*. The sages of Greece had hitherto been termed *Σοφοί*, wise men; Pythagoras modestly placed himself below them in terming himself only *philosophos*, a lover of wisdom.

Crotona, in Magna Græcia. Thousands of both sexes, and of all ages, flocked to hear him, and the reform of manners consequent upon the moral lessons of the teacher, was extraordinary.\* It must remain a matter of deep regret, that the great principles of his philosophy, which influenced his hearers, as truth alone can influence, have not come down to us in his own words; for it is only from a few scattered notices in later authors, who scarcely understood his full meaning, that we can now guess at them even. The command he acquired over the minds of the Crotonians was used in promoting their political, as well as moral well being; when, indeed, were they ever separated? Crotona, under the rule of a council of three hundred, all imbued with his principles, quickly rose to greatness; and during forty years enjoyed unexampled prosperity. The new philosophical sect spread widely in the surrounding countries, and we soon find Pythagoreans dispersed, not only over Italy and Sicily, but in the islands and coasts of Greece; but at Crotona, as elsewhere, prosperity engendered its evils; the state engaged in a contest with, and conquered Sybaris: the people clamored for an equal division of the conquered lands; the demand was resisted, and Pythagoras and his disciples were banished. The philosopher died soon after at Metapontum, another city of Magna Græcia, and Crotona suffered the usual penalty of folly, in the decay of its greatness.

The discipline of Pythagoras extended itself not only to the moral conduct, but to the regulation of dress, of meats and drinks; and a resemblance to the laws of Moses in one or two of his injunctions,

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\* For a longer account of the life of this great man, see Gille's Hist. of Greece, chap. xi.

leads to the conjecture, that in his various researches he had not neglected to study this code also, which, from the intercourse between Egypt and Judea, must have been well known in the former country. No animal not fit to be used in sacrifice was to be eaten by his disciples; and they were commanded, when engaged in any religious rite, to wear clean white garments. Silence, modesty, temperance, and brotherly love, were enjoined; and,—among the candidates for initiation into the deeper mysteries of his doctrine,—a community of goods; the funds of the whole being administered by one of the members:—one of the first instances on record of a collegiate establishment. A probation of five years was expected from his pupils, after which they were instructed in the meaning of the enigmatical sayings, in which, like Orpheus, he involved much of his doctrine. His wife Theano, worthy of such a husband, not only shared his labors during his life, but continued the philosophical school after his death: she is said to have written some works, now lost. Many extraordinary fables are related of Pythagoras, which are so incompatible with the character of the man, that they may safely be rejected:—thus, he is said to have affirmed himself to be the son of Mercury, who offering him any boon short of immortality, he asked that of memory, and, accordingly, professed to recollect the having passed through various bodies. On another occasion he is said to have feigned a descent to the infernal regions.\* These tales probably deserve the same credit as the story of his golden thigh.

Unfortunately, as has been already observed, we have no writings either of the great teacher himself,

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\* Diog. Laert. in *vitâ Pythag.*

or his no less gifted wife, from which to gather their doctrines; they are, therefore, to be collected only from the reports of disciples. In astronomy, he is thought to have held the same opinion as was afterwards promulgated by his pupil, Philolaus of Crotone, who taught that a globe of fire,—the sun,—occupied the centre of the system, and that round it the other planets revolved. That the earth had a movement on its own axis, and that the revolution made day and night, and gave an apparent motion to the stars. That the earth itself was a spheroid, poised in the air; and that the moon and other planets were habitable globes like our own. A fanciful comparison of the seven primary planets to musical instruments, formed a part of the Pythagorean doctrine; and hence was said to arise that music of the spheres which the ancients were fond of imagining.\* Like Thales, he conceived all matter to consist of certain indefinitely small bodies, incapable of further division, which, from that quality, were called atoms, i. e., indivisible bodies; and that by a certain numerical arrangement,† these atoms formed fire, earth, water, and air; but that by altering this arrangement, air might become water, and water air, &c. That when atoms of fire, i. e., heat, were introduced into water, it became fluid from the separation of its particles; but that fire being of a lighter nature, had a tendency to escape into the surrounding air, which thus either occupying more space, or becoming more dense, by the introduction of extraneous matter, exerted a pressure on the water, and squeezed out, as it were, the remaining particles of

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\* See Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* pars ii. lib. ii. c. 10.

† “*Pythagorei ex numeris et mathematicorum initis profiscisci volunt omnia.*” *Cic. Acad.* l. i. c. 37.

fire, until it became solid.\* It would be neither possible nor profitable in this small treatise to follow out these speculations, so imperfectly handed down to us: we may consider them probably, as among those first glimmerings of truth, which great minds see in the distance, though they cannot quite reach them: but whilst raising a statue to Dalton for his proved theory of definite proportions, we should not altogether forget Pythagoras, who twenty-four centuries earlier, would probably have worked it out, had his age been less immeasurably behind him.

In theology, his opinions are not less worthy of remark. "The One Deity is the source of all things; his form, light; his essence, truth; he is the giver of good to those who love him, and, as such, to be worshiped: he is the soul of all things, pervading and maintaining the universe."<sup>†</sup> "The souls of men exist after the death of the body: all space is full of them,<sup>‡</sup> and they are worthy to receive honor

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\* Plato Dial. Timæus. This is little else than the doctrine of latent heat. It will probably be found that both are wrong, and that heat is not a substance: but at any rate, modern science has not found it easy to drive Pythagoras from his position, with regard to its mode of operation.

† It is impossible to read these sublime notions of the Deity without comparing them with those of the Hebrew prophets: and when we recollect that Pythagoras was the cotemporary of Cyrus; that he visited Egypt for the express purpose of collecting knowledge, and, as some say, Babylon also, and that the events of the time must have drawn attention to the Jewish Scriptures, we may guess with some degree of probability whence they were drawn.

‡ According to Jamblicus, he divided unseen intelligences into inferior gods, dæmons, i. e. souls of dead men, and heroes: but Jamblicus did not write till the fourth century after Christ; and as this doctrine implies a contradiction which Pythagoras would scarcely have been guilty of, I am inclined to think it has been misunderstood. In a system where the One Deity is the soul of all things, pervading and maintaining the universe, inferior gods would not find place. His doctrine was, doubtless,

and praise when their course in this life has been good and virtuous:—the soul strengthens its holy dispositions by the exercise of devotion:—knowledge should be sought as the means of approaching the nature and felicity of the Deity.” The lofty spiritualism and pure morality of this system long influenced the world; and though the disciples of Pythagoras, like all others who oppose the reigning vices of the age, were persecuted after a time, and driven from Crotona, this did but spread his philosophy more widely. Whether the doctrines of this great man were derived from the countries he visited, or from the depths of his own mind, must remain uncertain: he stands there on the very confines of the darkness of remote ages, like a bright star, whose splendor in its own sphere we can only guess at from the light which it conveys to our far distant orb.

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that of Orpheus, and like it, was misinterpreted in after times. Dæmons and heroes are the same thing, i. e., immortalized souls.

### III.

## IONIA.

FROM 700 B. C. TO 428 B. C.

WHILST Athens under the laws of Solon, and the judicious rule of its mild “tyrants,”\* had been silently, but rapidly advancing in science and arts, the fortunes of Ionia had been various. Within three centuries from their first establishment in this province, the Grecian colonies had risen to opulence by their commerce, and skill in the arts. Miletus, Colophon, and Phœcæa, especially, shone forth amid a barbarous age as the seats of luxury and taste; their commerce with Egypt both enriched and enlightened them, and probably laid the foundation of that philosophic school which still sheds a lingering glory over the ruins of that once happy land. But in proportion as the cities of Ionia, and their dependencies, grew in riches and splendor, they became objects of notice to the nations around them, and after some unsuccessful contests, they appear, for the most part, to have fallen under the dominion of the powerful kings of Lydia. When the great struggle for the empire of Asia began, between Cyrus and Croesus, the alliance of the Grecian cities of Ionia was sought by the former; but at that time they remained faithful to the Lydian monarch. After his defeat, they endeavored to make terms with the conqueror, but it was too late: Miletus only was admitted to treat; the others, in despair, sought assistance from Greece, and Sparta.

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\* Peisistratus and Hipparchus.

was already fitting out an armament, when the rapid advance of the Persian generals rendered the succor useless. Priene was captured, the inhabitants sold for slaves, and the surrounding country given up to the soldiery. Phocæa and Teos, warned by the fate of Priene, preferred exile to slavery, and embarking on board their fleet, with their families and effects,\* left an empty city to the invaders. The other towns, after an ineffectual resistance, submitted to the conqueror on his own terms, and as the greater part of the Persian force was then employed elsewhere, these terms were not severe. Under the dominion of Persia the Ionian cities again rose to opulence, and were governed, for the most part, by rulers of their own, subject only to the supremacy of "the Great King." A love of freedom, nevertheless, still lingered among them, which made them unwilling subjects; and Darius, the successor of Cambyses, entertaining some suspicion of Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, sent for him to Susa under pretence of asking his advice on points of government, and kept him there in a sort of honorable confinement.† The wily Greek saw through the pretext, and, being, determined to get free at any hazard, secretly sent to his nephew, Aristagoras, to urge him to revolt, hoping that, in this case, he should himself be sent to quiet the people. Aristagoras was already involved in a disagreement with the Persian authorities when the message arrived; and, accordingly, reckless of consequences, he called the people together, made a public renunciation of the sovereignty on the part of himself and his uncle, and at once raised the standard of independence. This done, not being mad

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\* Marseilles was founded by the fugitive Phocæans.

† Herod. l. v. c. 24.

enough to suppose they could alone resist the might of Persia, he departed to Greece in order to obtain succor from the parent states.

Meantime the Athenians had been engaged in a contest with the Lacedæmonians, in defence of their liberties, and alarmed at having drawn upon themselves the resentment of a state which had taken such fearful vengeance on the Messenians, they sent ambassadors to Artaphernes, the brother of Darius, at Sardis, to ask the protection of the Persian monarch. Artaphernes having inquired where this hitherto unknown state was to be found, briefly replied, that if they brought earth and water, the known tokens of vassalage, to Darius, they might be admitted to his protection ; if not, they had better depart. The ambassadors, impressed only with the danger from the arms of Sparta, accepted the humiliating terms. Their conduct was severely reprobated at their return, but this, probably, Artaphernes never knew. Shortly after this, Hippias, the son of Peistratus, who had in vain sought assistance among the Grecian states, arrived at the residence of Artaphernes. He had allied himself by marriage with the tyrant of Lampsacus, who had considerable interest at the court of Persia ; and he thus met with a ready hearing, and the supposed vassals of the Great King were commanded to receive back their prince. At the moment when the indignation excited among the Athenians by this haughty mandate, was at its height, Aristagoras, who had been unsuccessful with the Spartans, arrived at Athens. His artful recommendations were well seconded by the resentment of the people, and an armament in aid of the Ionians was immediately voted and equipped. With their aid, Sardis was taken and burnt, but the force of the confederates being too small to retain their conquest,

it had no other effect than that of incensing Darius\* to the greatest possible degree, by what appeared to him an act of wanton piracy.

Such was the beginning of that Persian war whose events have lived in the recollection and admiration of mankind during nearly twenty-four centuries, and probably will continue to do so to the end of time: for as long as the worth of freedom is known, as long as disinterestedness and self-devotion find any sympathy in the human heart, so long must the bay of Salamis, and the pass of Thermopylæ be remembered and hallowed.

The storm rolled first over Miletus: dissensions among the allies had left it without the expected succor from other states, and, in the sixth year of the revolt, this flourishing city was taken and burnt, its citizens massacred, and its women and children carried into slavery.† All the principal cities of Ionia, as well on the main land as in the islands, with the exception of Samos, which made a timely submission, shared the same fate. The next act of the tragedy was to be laid in Greece itself. After reducing all the smaller insular states, an army of an hundred thousand infantry, besides cavalry, was disembarked, under the guidance of Hippias, on the Marathonian shore, only thirty miles from Athens itself; but the age had made its men; though the force which the Athenians could bring into the field

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\* He commanded an attendant to keep the insult in his memory, by exclaiming every day to him, as he sat at dinner, “Remember the Athenians.”

† Herod. l. vi. c. 19. The taking of Miletus having been brought on the stage at Athens, by Phrynicus, the dramatic poet, the whole audience burst into tears; and so deeply were they affected, that a decree was passed, forbidding any future representation of this woful spectacle, under pain of a heavy fine.

was far short of the host of Persia, they had Miltiades; they had Aristides, great enough to divest himself of command, and induce the other generals in chief to do the same, in order that the military skill of his colleague might meet with no obstacle; and they had stout hearts and strong arms to strike for their hearths and homes;—but who is there that now needs to be told the result of the fight at Marathon?

The discomfited Persians retreated to their ships, and this decisive day purchased for the Athenians ten years respite from the vengeance of the offended monarch; during which time their fleet was employed in punishing the island states, which in their opinion had submitted too readily to the Persians. Miltiades at first had the command, and being unsuccessful at Naxos, at his return, wounded and dying, he was impeached and condemned to a heavy fine, or, as some say, to death,—an instance of strange ingratitude, which unfortunately for the fame of Athens, was not without its after parallels.

In order to explain much of what follows, it will be needful to recollect that all through Greece, as must be the case in every country where civilization is rapidly advancing, the inhabitants were divided into two great factions; the aristocratical, and the demoeratical, or as we now more familiarly term them, the conservative party, and that of the movement. Sparta, whose institutions admitted of no change, was at the head of the conservative, or aristocratic party; Athens, which ever since the death of Codrus, had been verging more and more towards popular government, was the leader of the democratical movement. The descendants of Codrus, still powerful though deprived of the sovereignty, had been the indefatigable opponents of Peisistratus, and having

rid themselves of his family, would brook no other rival near the throne. Miltiades had married a Thracian princess, and was himself the independent sovereign of a part of the Thracian Chersonesus; and their jealousy probably saw in him another Peisistratus, whom it was needful to crush. Xanthippus, who had married the niece of Cleisthenes, the lineal descendant of Alcmæon, the last archon of the family of Codrus, conducted the prosecution of the great general, whose death from the consequence of his bodily and mental wounds, delivered the Alcmæonidæ from a rival they feared, but left a dark blot on the Athenian name which no time can efface.

Meantime the gathering storm swept onward from the east: Xerxes had succeeded to his father's hatred of Athens, and at last, after subduing all other opposition, he crossed the Hellespont, and prepared to chastise the presumptuous state which had braved his power. But again the great occasion found men equal to it. A handful of Spartans, under their heroic king Leonidas, defended the pass of Thermopylæ against the whole force of Persia for three days, and when at last, by the treachery of a Greek, a body of the enemy was conducted over the mountains, so as to take them in the rear, they died amid heaps of the best troops of the invading force, slain by their brave despair. The victory of Xerxes cost him dear; and though the noble self-devotion of that gallant band failed to arrest his progress, it taught his hosts to dread the obstinate valor of free men, defending all that was dear to them in life, and paved the way for the future triumphs of the Grecian arms. The Athenians, hopeless now of defending their city, by a no less brave resolve, abandoned their property and their homes to the fury of their enemies; and having placed their wives and children in safety, em-

barked on board their fleet, under the command of Themistocles, and with the other naval forces of Greece, met the Persian fleet off Salamis, in a conflict not less obstinate, but more fortunate, than that of Thermopylæ. Xerxes fled discomfited from the scene of his intended triumph, and in the ensuing summer, the two great battles of Plataea and Mycale, fought on the same glorious day, delivered Greece for ever from the dread of the Persian arms.

It is pleasant to look on the bright side of human nature, and after the brave struggle just noticed, the mind longs to find Athens and Sparta, the two eyes of Greece, as they were appropriately termed, traveling hand in hand on their glorious career; but this could not be. Different political institutions held them apart; the high tone not unjustly assumed by Athens, as the Savior of Greece, offended the pride of other states, and dissensions broke out afresh. Faction resumed its sway at Athens as soon as the danger was over, and both Themistocles, and Cimon, the no less great son of the great Miltiades, in turn succumbed to the power of the opposite party. That class of the people which by the laws of Solon had been excluded from offices of state, after the termination of the Persian invasion, claimed a share in the government which their swords had helped to re-establish: the claim was a plausible one, and a relaxation of the law was perhaps called for, under the altered circumstances of the country; but faction had again divided the greatest men of the republic. Themistocles and Aristides took opposite sides, and this latter, glad of an opportunity to curb the power of his rival by gaining the popular favor for his own party, in an evil hour granted the demand in its fullest extent. From thenceforward no qualification of property was required for any office of the state,

and it was too soon found that the hardy, uneducated demagogue, who could win the favor of the ignorant multitude, who were unable to decide on his capacity, might obtain power to ruin his country. The habits of the Athenian citizen, nevertheless, were not altered in a day ; the people who had been led by a Themistocles and a Cimon, could not stoop as yet to the guidance of a Cleon, and forty glorious years more are marked as the era of Pericles, a man not unworthy of the great names who had preceded him. During this time Athens arrived at the pinnacle of its power: its edifices were rebuilt in a style which, even in its ruins, still claims our admiration: its sculpture remains unequaled: in poetry, in rhetoric, in philosophy, it has directed the march of the human intellect through all succeeding generations. Ages have passed over, but Athens has had no rival; nor, though the pismire labors of myriads, perpetuated by the aid of the printing press, may carry science forward to greater accuracy of detail, will those master minds who first held the torch to guide us on our way, ever cease to excite our admiration.

Such were the events amid which the philosophy of Greece was rudely cradled. Happily for mankind, it is under this rough nurture that intellect develops itself the most vigorously ; and never has the world boasted a galaxy of greater names, than those which threw their lustre over the period which elapsed from the stormy rise of the Persian power, to its decline and final overthrow by the Macedonian arms. It has already been seen, that the wisdom for which Greece honored its sages, was at first chiefly moral and political ; the natural sciences were only added, as a sort of pastime, to what they con-

sidered the more important parts of a wise man's study. Of the seven, Thales and Solon alone gave any attention to natural philosophy, and even when their successors saw the immense field of knowledge spread before them, and began to cultivate it, they rarely quite disengaged themselves from politics. Plutarch makes it a reproach to Epicurus, even in his time, that he alone, of all the Greek philosophers, taught his disciples to stand aloof from politics, and prefer a quiet obscurity to public charges and honors.\* There will be need to recur hereafter to this peculiarity in the philosophy of Greece.

While Pythagoras was spreading the light of science in *Magna Græcia*, and preaching at the same time a faith and morality which a Hebrew prophet would not have disavowed; the school which Thales had founded at Miletus, was carried on by his friend and pupil **ANAXIMANDER**, and after him by **ANAXIMENES**, a Milesian also, who appears to have escaped from the desolation of his native city, and to have returned thither when the danger was over. Gross errors in natural science have been imputed to these philosophers, too gross to be believed; for who can imagine that the friend, or as some say, the relation of Thales, supposed eclipses to proceed from the casual shutting of a window in the sun or moon, through which the light at other times proceeded: or, that the cotemporary of Pythagoras, whose disciples were spread over all Greece and Italy, could believe the earth to be an extended tabular surface, when the experience of every mariner of that commercial country would have told him the contrary. Probably in the fatal siege and capture of Miletus the greater number of pupils of this school perished;

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\* *Plut. contra Koloten.*

and those who in after times prosecuted Anaxagoras, the pupil of Anaximenes, for doubting the divine nature of the sun, we may well suppose paid little attention to the astronomical researches of this school of philosophy.

It has been already seen that Thales held the opinion, that all matter consists of certain indefinitely small particles, and that its first form was water, out of which the Supreme Deity formed all things. Anaximander and Anaximenes both differed slightly from their master as to this first step in creation, Anaximander asserting that infinity, *το ἀτεῖρον*, was the source of all material things, from which worlds were constantly in a course of formation, and into which they were re-dissolved :\* Anaximenes affirming this infinity to be the air.† Both have been accused of atheism by subsequent writers : but as Thales, the teacher of Anaximander, and Anaxagoras, the pupil of Anaximenes, both held a supreme Mind to be the plastic force by whose power the universe coheres, so we may justly conclude that their atheism consisted in the rejection of the popular superstitions, and that the sole difference between these masters of the Ionian school consisted in their notions as to the primitive form of matter ; a point of such mere speculation, as to involve no important consequence : for those who held the atomic theory of that age, considered, as we still do, on perhaps more decided proof, that water and air were but different modes of combination of the same material particles. Anaximander is said to have attempted a map of the world, and to have constructed a sphere for that purpose.‡

\* See Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., Pars ii. lib. iii. c. 1.

† Cic. Lucull. c. 37. See also Aristot. Metaph. l. i. c. 3.

‡ Diog. Laert.

He is likewise said to have been the first inventor of the gnomon, and to have constructed one at Lacedæmon.\* He, like the rest of the philosophers of that time, appears to have held the doctrine of Orpheus with regard to the omnipresence of the Deity: thus the heavenly bodies were to be considered divine, not in regard to their material atoms, but as being the seat of a part of the divine power by which they were ruled and maintained.

XENOPHANES, of Colophon, another city of Ionia, is distinguished as the founder of a fresh school of philosophy, differing in some points from that usually called the Ionic. When the Phœcœans fled from the arms of Cyrus, a part of them founded the town of Elea, or Velia, in Magna Græcia; and as the most distinguished followers of the above-mentioned philosopher were citizens of this place, the sect was in consequence termed Eleatic. Xenophanes himself, like others of the Ionians, appears to have fled from his native country to avoid the slavery with which they were threatened by the successes of Cyrus, and to have lived in great poverty in Sicily, where he obtained a scanty subsistence as a bard, singing his own compositions in Zancle and Catana. In these verses, he is said to have ridiculed the fables of Homer and Hesiod relative to the gods, and as the Pythagorean doctrines had spread largely in this region, his satires were likely to have been heard with approbation.

Xenophanes appears to have possessed a mind of peculiar acuteness, which led him to feel dissatisfied with the loose mode of argument adopted in the Ionic school: accordingly we find him grounding his opinions on a very strict course of reasoning. He as-

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\* See Brucker as above.

sumes in the first place as an axiom, that something must have existed externally, because it is an absurdity to suppose that anything could ever have come into existence, had there ever been a time when there was nothing.\* Then, whatever is eternal must necessarily be infinite, as it can have neither beginning nor end—but what is infinite must be ONE, since if there were more, one would set a limit to the other, which is inconsistent with infinity:—and what is essentially one, can have no difference of parts; otherwise there might be a discretion, which would make many things instead of one. Moreover, what is eternal, infinite, and without distinction of parts, must be immovable and immutable, for there can be no place where it is not, therefore, it does not move; nor can it be subject to change, for then it would at some time be what it was not before, which would be equivalent to the creation of a new nature, a thing impossible where there is no more powerful cause existing. There is therefore, ONE ETERNAL, INFINITE, IMMUTABLE BEING, by whom all things consist, and this ONE BEING is God; incorporeal, omnipresent.† He has nothing in common with man, either in form or mode of existence,—he hears all, sees all, but not by human senses: he is at once mind, wisdom, eternal existence.‡

The difference between the Ionic and Pythagorean doctrine, and that of Xenophanes, appears to be this:

\* αἰδίον εἶναι φησὶν εἰ τί ἐξι, εἴπερ μὴ ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι μηδὲν ἐκ μηδενός. Aristot. de Xenophani, which see for the opinions of this philosopher.

† See Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., pars ii. lib. ii. c. 11.

‡ Diog. Laert. in vit. Xenophanias. This writer adds also, “that the substance of God is spheroid;” but Xenophanes was too close a reasoner to advance a contradiction, and Aristoteles does not charge it upon him, but upon Zeno Eleates: it is, therefore, evident that on this point the biographer was mistaken.

—that while the former considered the material atoms of which all things are compounded, and the plastic power which called them into *active* existence, as two separate principles, constituting as it were, the soul and body of the world, Xenophanes could not, in the strictness of his argument, allow any second principle, but at once refers all existence to the operation of that single Power, which alone exists necessarily. This controversy has continued to divide philosophers ever since, and will probably never be finished as long as the world lasts ; because no advance of science can ever give us *perfect* cognizance of the matter in question. With the perverseness which always leads men to carry a controverted opinion to its utmost verge, the one party has denied the existence of any immaterial principle, —the other, that of any material substance, and both having a portion of truth mixed with their error, have found followers. In our time, Cabanis and Bishop Berkeley have been the most unshrinking representatives of the respective sects of materialists and idealists, or more properly, spiritualists. Cabanis refuses to see in man, or in any material substance, anything but the movement of material parts, consequent on the laws of matter ; and asserts that thus certain functions are executed ; but here common sense steps in, and decides that though he has given a good exposition of *some* of the phenomena of nature, he has not explained all ; and that, therefore, something more is wanting to his theory. Berkeley boldly denies the possibility of proving any material existence whatever ; all *apparently external* things are *perceived internally* : the universe, therefore, is an idea in the mind of God, reflected upon the mind of man as in a mirror, and there is no such thing as matter at all. Common sense allows his argument,

and laughs at it: and, notwithstanding all that has been urged on both sides, the bulk of mankind still persists in believing in immaterial as well as material existence.\* As far as pure reasoning goes, the argument of Xenophanes is complete; the physical studies of the Ionic and Pythagorean schools perhaps enabled them to add what they might consider an experimental proof of the eternity of matter; *i. e.*, that through all its countless changes no atom is ever lost; but still this is nothing more than a presumption, and the argument of Xenophanes cannot be shaken: the manner, therefore, in which matter has its existence, will most likely remain an unsolved problem as long as we form part of a material universe.

The opinions of Xenophanes on physics have been strangely reported; probably by persons who did not understand them; for some of the notions imputed to him are too grossly improbable to have found favor with one so well capable of detecting false reasoning. He is said, for instance, to have taught that the stars were nothing but kindled exhalations, which were quenched when they appeared to set, a fresh illumination taking place on the following night. This, at a time when the periodical rising and setting of certain stars had already been noticed and recorded, is clearly an impossible degree of ignorance in a man of Xenophanes' rank in science, and must have been advanced by him solely of those meteors which are still entitled shooting or falling stars. Thus he is also said to have taught that there were many suns, which has been inter-

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\* See, for a fuller examination of the subject, an Essay by M. Jouffroy, *Du Spiritualisme et du Materialisme. Mélanges Philosophiques*, tom. i.

preted to mean that when any accident happened to one, the earth was presently supplied with another: it is a more probable conjecture that, as he taught that there were also an infinite number of worlds, he, like modern astronomers, considered the fixed stars to be suns, giving light to their respective systems. These specimens of misrepresentation may suffice: little is to be gathered from such reporters. Cicero, more exact in his information, tells us that Xenophanes believed the moon to be a habitable globe like our own: \* and he is elsewhere said to have observed the fossil remains found bedded in rocks, and to have concluded from thence, that the earth must at some previous time have undergone notable revolutions, in which the existing race of beings had perished.

HERACLEITUS, of Ephesus, though for a time acknowledged as the founder of a sect of philosophy, delighted so much in enigmatical expressions and mysterious concealment, that even his cotemporaries did not always understand him, and his successors still less. The dogma which is generally held to be especially his, is that fire is the origin of all things, guided by fate. According to Aristoteles, he considered that all nature was in constant movement, one power alone was permanent, and by it all was shaped and fashioned: † this power probably was the *εἰμαρμένης*, or fate, spoken of by other writers, who notice the philosophy of Heracleitus, and by whatever name called, was none other than the One, Unerring, Supreme Will, or Deity, which the whole of the Ionian school acknowledged. It appears,

\* Cicero, Lucull. c. 39.

† ἐν τῷ δὲ μόνῳ ὑπομένειν, ἐξ ἣ ταῦτα πάντα μετασχηματίζεσθαι πέφυκεν. Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. iii. c. 1.

therefore, that this philosopher only made a slight variation in the previous Ionic theory, by putting fire in the room of water or air, as the first form in which matter existed. It is not impossible that the Magian doctrines,\* which about that time were gaining a wider spread, might have had a share in influencing his views. He is said to have been offered the supreme rule of his native place, by his fellow-citizens, in order to the giving them a wholesome code of laws; but disgusted by the profligacy which he saw around him, and thinking, perhaps, that such a step might give umbrage to the Persian governor, he refused the offer.† He derided the superstition of his countrymen without reserve, telling them that they might as well pray to the stones of their houses, as to a stone image.‡ Some think that he was banished from Ephesus on this account: but the revolt of the Ionian cities, about this time, was a probable reason for his retirement to the mountains, where he lived as a hermit, weeping perpetually, it is said, over the miseries of human existence; which, indeed, were at that time carried to their height in the deplorable calamities of the fairest part of Ionia.

The philosophico-theological creed of those days appears to have been generally that of Orpheus, i. e., that a pervading intelligence animated all nature, and that the human soul was a portion of it: consequently, the blessedness of this latter consisted in a re-absorption into its divine original. The saying of Heracleitus, that "life was the burial of the soul, death, its deliverance from bondage,"—indicates

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\* The Magians, though called fire *worshippers*, merely honored it as the visible representative of the divine power.

† Diog. Laert. in vit.

‡ Clem. Alex. Protrept. c. 4.

such to have been his belief also. His learning was held in high esteem by his cotemporaries, and his name long kept its place among those of the most celebrated philosophers,\* but as he gave no permanent tincture to the opinions of his age, and as, even then, he had the title of *σχοτεινός*, i. e. obscure, it is needless to bestow a longer consideration on his doctrines.

PARMENIDES, one of the most famous of the Eleatic sect, was the cotemporary of Heracleitus. Like most of the sages of old, he was at once philosopher, poet, and legislator, and in this latter capacity bestowed on his native city so excellent a code of laws, that Plutarch assures us it was the practice, even down to his time, to require the officers of the city to swear when they entered upon their charge, that they would observe the laws and ordinances of Parmenides. In philosophy he appears to have endeavored to reconcile the tenets of Pythagoras and the Ionic school with those of Xenophanes. There are in nature, he said, two species of things; the one variable and uncertain, which we view by our external senses and which is a subject of opinion only; the other, one and immutable, to be discovered only by our reason:† a doctrine in which logical reasoning, common sense, and observation are blended, as was to be expected from so eminently practical a man: it must remain, therefore, a matter of deep regret, that of all his writings, both on this subject, and many others which he treated of,‡ only a

\* Plutarch ranks him with Parmenides, Socrates, and Plato as a moral teacher.

† Plutarch cont. Koloten.

‡ "He discoursed much," says Plutarch, "respecting the earth, and the heavens, the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the creation (*γένεσιν*) of man; and has left nothing unnoticed,

very few disjointed fragments remain. His scholars, and Melissus especially, appear to have pushed his system to the extreme of idealism; asserting that nothing really was generated or decayed, but merely appeared to us to be so.\*

One other less desirable celebrity has been acquired by Parmenides: that of having been the first to assert that the earth occupies the centre of the universe; being so equidistant from all parts, that it remains poised by an equal attraction on all sides. In one point of view this record is curious and interesting, as it shows that the force of gravitation was not unknown to the philosophers of that day. By what arguments Parmenides supported his new opinion we are unable now to tell: for the futile one afterwards drawn by Pliny the elder, from the equal length of night and day at the equinox, seems too slight a foundation for such a man as Parmenides to ground a system upon. Be that as it may, the error spread, and soon became so firmly rooted, that it remained the established creed in astronomy down to the days of Copernicus and Galileo. The only probable cause that can be assigned for so extraordinary a fact, is the desolation brought upon the civilized world by the Babylonian first, and then the Persian conquests. In the burning of cities and temples manuscripts perished: in the massacre or enslavement of the inhabitants of whole regions, those who might have handed down the learning of the preceding age were cut off; and when Athens arose from her ashes, and the cities of Ionia were again peopled, and Egypt revived under the

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for he was a man versed in physiology from of old, and has written his own observations, not those of others." Plut. cont. Kolot.

\* ἐθεν γαρ ὅτε γνωσθαις φασιν, ὅτε φείγεσθαις τῶν ὄντων, αλλα μονον δοκεῖν ἡμῖν. *De Cœlo*, lib. iii. c. 1.

rule of the Ptolemies, the science of past ages had to be discovered anew. Thanks to the printing press, the world has no reason to dread the recurrence of such a calamity.

The Eleatic sect ended with the disciples of Parmenides, for LEUCIPPUS, though a pupil of one of them, *i. e.*, of Zeno Eleates, may be considered as the founder of a new school, rendered famous by the name of Democritus, and giving rise in part to a yet more famous sect, that of the Epicureans. We have already seen that Parmenides' physiological studies gave him a leaning towards the Pythagorean and Ionian theory of material atoms; that is, he allowed that there was in nature, besides the one eternal existence discovered by reason, something that our senses took cognizance of, though only as a matter of opinion. Leucippus, waiving the argument as to the Being which our reason takes cognizance of, attached himself to researches into the nature of what is obvious to our bodily senses. The universe according to him, consists of an infinite vacuum, and an infinite number of material atoms floating in it, which, by certain movements, and attraction towards each other, become conglomerated, and form the different bodies perceptible by our senses, and which from the same agencies are in a perpetual state of change. The efficient cause of these changes was, according to him, a certain necessity, the nature of which he did not explain.\* There will be occasion hereafter to return to these tenets, when they are more developed by Democritus and Epicurus: it is time now to

\* εἴναι τε . . . κατά τινα ἀνάγκην. Diog. Laert. in vit. Leucip. It has already been seen that this Necessity, or Fate, was acknowledged among the Greeks as the Supreme Deity, to whom both gods and men were subject. See Aristot. de Mundo, c. 7.

turn to the leader of the opposite school, ANAXAGORAS, of Clazomene.

This philosopher, whose name has become famous as the instructor of Pericles and of Socrates, was born of noble and wealthy parents, about the time of the Ionian revolt; and early became a scholar of Anaximenes, the then head of the Ionic school. Possibly both might find themselves in the same place of refuge, and thus the young Anaxagoras obtained the advantage of Anaximenes' tuition sooner than he would otherwise have done; for, many years after, when he returned to Clazomene, and saw his paternal inheritance lying desolate, he is reported to have said,—“But for this destruction I myself should have been lost.”\*—Though he is thought to have filled the chair of Anaximenes for a short period, the greater part of his life, after he had attained to manhood, was spent at Athens, which he first visited in his twentieth year, at the very time when its brave citizens were betaking themselves to their wooden walls to preserve the liberty of Greece; and even Themistocles is said, during some part of his brilliant career, to have studied the lore of the young philosopher. It would seem that, after the day of Mycale and the subsequent successes of Cimon had freed Ionia from the dread of the Persian yoke, Anaxagoras returned to his country; but after no long stay there, came back to Athens, where he is said to have spent thirty years.

Anaxagoras saw before him the evils resulting from the system of mystery introduced by Orpheus, which, while it opened its truths only to the learned, left the vulgar a prey to the grossest fictions, and plunged them into both polytheism and idolatry; he proba-

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\* Val. Max. lib. viii. c. 7.

bly saw too the fault of the Ionic doctrine generally, which so united the Divine Spirit with material nature, that it amounted almost to a deification of the latter, and he appears to have resolved to free his philosophy from both these faults. He, therefore, boldly faced the superstition of his time, declaring openly that Phœbus himself, the great Delphian god, was nothing more than a ball of glowing metal or rock, which transmitted its warmth to the earth ; and that the moon, the Diana of Greece, the Isis of Egypt, was nothing more than another habitable earth, with hills and valleys like our own. He taught that there was but ONE GOD, and that was the intelligent MIND which had given movement and consequent form to the material atoms of the universe, and which, though it pervaded and ordered all nature, was separate, and unmixed with any material substance.\*

Pericles, the great statesman of Athens, who, before he became acquainted with Anaxagoras, had listened to the far more questionable doctrines of Zeno Eleates, soon became a convert of his teaching: the licentiousness and extravagant luxury which the plundered riches of Persia had cherished and maintained, were already beginning to threaten the best interests of the state, and were deeply felt by Pericles himself, in the unhappy home thus created for him.† There was that in the doctrine of Anaxagoras, which was of power to reform the public morals, and fix the government on a surer foundation ; and Pericles and his friends, with a noble enthusiasm, appear to have become the apostles of the new philosophy,

\* Aristot. Metaph. l. i. c. 3.

† The wise economy introduced by him into his house expenses was bitterly complained of by his first wife, and his sons by her. See Plutarch's life of this statesman.

new at least in the simple and bold avowal of its principles.

About this time, too, Anaxagoras found another and powerful auxiliary in the person of one of the most famed and the most maligned of all the characters of antiquity. **ASPASIA**, the daughter of Axiochus, a Milesian, made her appearance at Athens as a teacher of rhetoric and politics.\* Her glowing eloquence, her talents, her youth, her extraordinary beauty, won upon all hearts; and the Athenians, who till then had thought a woman capable of nothing but the superintendence of the loom and the storehouse; who considered a wife merely as a household drudge, and could not suppose that rational intercourse and friendship with a female were possible; suddenly saw themselves obliged to bow before female intellect, and learned the eloquence which was to captivate the multitude, and the arts by which they were to wield the power of the state, from female lips. The most distinguished characters in Athens attended her lec-

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\* Aspasia has been stigmatized as a courtesan, a charge not very compatible with a life so devoted to learning as to have made her an able teacher of the above sciences at a very early age. When we recollect, too, that the severely virtuous Pericles made her his wife; that their only son, though illegitimate by the laws of Athens because his mother was a foreigner, must, from his age, have been born some time after their marriage; and that Socrates, in after times, carried the wives and daughters of his friends to profit by her conversation and instruction; we may well believe that the reproaches so plentifully cast upon her, were but the calumnies of a faction, invented for a political purpose. Those really known to be courtesans, Lais for instance, or Theodota mentioned by Xenophon, Mem. lib. iii. c. 11, made no pretensions to philosophy: but on the other hand, those who did study philosophy, and spurned the silly etiquettes of Grecian society, were thus stigmatized by the impure and the envious; and later writers have repeated the charge without examination.

tures ; Pericles,\* then in almost the height of his power, and Socrates just entering upon life, alike sought her instruction. She herself embraced the opinions of Anaxagoras, if, indeed, she had not already been trained in his school at Miletus, and appears to have co-operated with all her power in the project of reforming the religious creed, as well as the manners, of the country. Euripides, the tragic poet, enlisted himself in the same cause, and the new sect spread so rapidly as to alarm the opposite party. The conservatives of Athens dreaded, or affected to dread, the change of manners likely to be introduced by the new system ;† and a decree was procured, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or broached new opinions respecting celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. The comic poets, whose gross ribaldry had always been discouraged by Pericles, were the ready tools in the hands of the opposite faction ; and after a series of both personal and political libels, aimed at the great statesman, the master-stroke was attempted, by attacking his private friend no less than

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\* Pericles' famous funeral oration for the slain at Samos, is said to have been composed by Aspasia. See Plato. *Menex.* She is said also to have been the adviser of that expedition ; a stroke of policy questioned by some, but which, by establishing the popular party in Samos, gained a new ally for Athens.

† At the time when this law was proposed, the religious festivals, sacrifices, &c., supplied the indigent citizens with a considerable part of their maintenance. Even the theatrical entertainments, which the Athenians were so passionately fond of, were exhibited at a religious festival, i. e. the Dionysia, or feast of Bacchus ; and a gratuity was distributed to the people on that occasion. It was easy, therefore, to rouse them to maintain those rites which furnished them with so large a part of their subsistence. The expense which this entailed upon the state, became at last so ruinous, that within fifty years after, we find Demosthenes complaining that the money which should have maintained their fleet and troops, was wasted in feasts and plays.

himself with a series of prosecutions. Phidias, the still unrivaled architect and sculptor, was thrown into prison on frivolous pretences: Pericles himself was called on to give an account of his administration, in terms that implied a reproach, and Anaxagoras and Aspasia were prosecuted under the new law, for impiety. A farther ridiculous charge was added against Aspasia, as it had been against Phidias, of keeping free women in her house for the private pleasure of her great pupil: a charge, which the character given of Pericles by the great cotemporary historian of Greece, sufficiently disproves, even if the commonest principles of human nature had not sufficiently convinced us already, that a woman engaged in such traffic could never have been the confidante and guide of the great and wise minister of Athens. But it is scarcely indulging a conjecture to suppose that the scheme for the reform of religion and manners, embraced that of restoring women to such a position in society, as should curb the fearful depravation which so unblushingly prevailed: and the young women of free or noble birth whom Aspasia entertained in her house, were no doubt her pupils; but in a nobler science than the gross minds of her accusers could understand. The stepping beyond the walls of the Gynæceum and mixing in general society, were things as much proscribed by the customs of ancient Greece as of modern Turkey, and those who disdained these restraints were instantly supposed to have broken through all others.\*

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\* Some amusing instances have occurred in modern Turkey of the impression made on the minds of pashas and other dignitaries, by the unveiled and unrestrained women of Europe: courtesy alone preventing them from characterizing such females in the same terms that the ancients used in speaking of the female philosophers of their time.

Pericles found it beyond his power to save both the accused, though he personally undertook their defence. For Anaxagoras he pleaded the blameless life they had all witnessed, and with difficulty obtained the commutation of the sentence of death into banishment; which he lightened as far as possible, by carrying his honored instructor a part of the way towards Lampsacus, his future abode, in his own chariot. In Aspasia he felt a yet dearer interest, and in her cause all the powers of the rhetoric he had learned in her school were exerted: but nature taught a better rhetoric still: the danger of one he loved so well overcame the proud reserve of the statesman and the general; he burst into tears; and to those unwonted tears the sensitive Athenians granted what their fanaticism or their party spirit would perhaps have denied to arguments; Aspasia was acquitted "much against the tenor of the law," observes the biographer, and Pericles, as she had been so nearly sacrificed on his account, resolved to shelter her in future, and made her his wife.

Anaxagoras is said to have fallen into so much poverty at Lampsacus, that he had covered his head to die; but Pericles, hearing of his state, hastened to him, and by timely succor, and friendly assiduity, lengthened the life of his friend and instructor, whose decease did not occur until the year after that of his noble pupil. The opinions of this philosopher on physics, have, as usual, been very imperfectly reported: he appears to have differed slightly from Thales in regard to the elemental form of matter, which he considered as consisting of various kinds of perfectly similar particles,\* each species of which,

\* αρχὰς δε τὰς ὁμοιομερειας. Diog. Laert. in vit. Anaxag. Cic. Luculli. c. 37.

by natural attraction, joined into one substance:—thus, that the matter of bone would be formed of one kind of particles,—flesh of another, and so on. Such at least is the representation given of his opinion on this head, by Aristoteles and Lucretius, who combat it with more violence than justice perhaps, for the ancients were by no means precise in the use of the word *σούχεια*, *elements*, and it is most probable that Anaxagoras did not understand it in the same sense as his opponents, and that his *δμοιομερεῖαι* were merely what we should now call compound atoms, not elemental ones, which latter, among the more ancient natural philosophers, would have been termed principles. The notion that bodies consist of similarly formed particles, was perhaps adopted from observing the constitution of minerals of easy fracture, which constantly split into similar forms; reasoning from analogy, he might conclude that such could be the case with all substances, if they could be split in like manner. He is said to have considered earthquakes as the effect of air within the earth;—wind as the effect of the rarefaction of the air by the sun; lightning as the effect of friction of the clouds on each other: modern philosophy has not much to change in this.

In treating of the opinions of the ancient philosophers we must always recollect that the fragments of them which remain to us, are for the most part, handed down to us by persons who evidently were ignorant, in many cases, of the very first principles of the philosophy they report; so that all the observations, arguments, and experimental proofs, by which the studiers of nature in ancient times supported their views, have been wholly lost. Aristoteles, the only person capable of doing justice to his predecessors, was not born till nearly fifty years

after the death of Anaxagoras; and between the banishment of this latter, and the establishment of the former as a teacher, nearly a century elapsed; so that he, clear and logical as he was in all his reasonings, wanted the proper data on which to ground them, whilst criticising the supposed tenets of those who preceded him; and in no instance is this more apparent than in his mention of the philosophical views of Anaxagoras. Yet we have in his writings valuable remnants of them, which give rise to a suspicion that they were more profound than his own. On the subject of the soul, he acknowledges that Anaxagoras, while asserting that one Supreme Mind put dead matter into motion to form the universe, asserted equally that the moving power in man, and the soul, were two distinct things; and that this latter was of a nature unlike any material thing, and separate from the bodily perturbation of the passions: in which opinions he stood alone,\* says the Stagyrite; a point, however, which admits of considerable doubt.

The natural philosophers of the earlier ages have probably been too lightly esteemed of late; they have been held wild theorists who hit right sometimes by chance; but it has not been sufficiently considered that while the road to truth is but one, the ways of error are innumerable; and that, therefore, the hitting right by chance is not a thing of such common occurrence as to justify us in assuming such to have been always the case. Numa is said to have fetched lightning from the skies at pleasure, by a process which was attempted by his successor, Tullus Hostilius; who, failing, killed himself and burnt his palace.† The art was said to have been well known to

\* Aristot. *de Anim.* lib. i. c. 2.

† Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. c. 52.

the old Etrurians; some acquaintance with the laws of electricity, therefore, must have been possessed by these persons. Pythagoras, who visited Italy shortly after Numa's death, might well become acquainted with the science of Etruria, from whence he probably gained the true notion of the Solar system which Numa also appears to have possessed :\* but of the philosophy of Pythagoras, or the science of Etruria, alas ! what now remains to us ?—Yet even in these short and scattered notions, misunderstood as they were by those who handed them down to us, there is enough to give the modern philosopher room for thought, and perhaps to raise a suspicion in his mind that he is but re-discovering what former observers had known, if not so accurately, at least with some degree of certainty.

The decree procured by Diopithes, by which all question of existing opinions on theology or astronomy was made an indictable offence in the Athenian state, closes the first epoch in the history of Greek philosophy. The philosopher had hitherto been the guide and the lawgiver; and had been looked up to by all classes as one who deserved the highest honors. A mistaken notion, originally adopted in Egypt as it would seem, that the lower people were unfit for the knowledge of the highest truths, and that these were to be reserved for the initiated alone, was first brought into Greece by Orpheus; and his successors too readily adopted it. The vulgar were left at the mercy of the superstition which so readily springs up in untaught minds, and the philosophic lawgiver, instead of seeking to enlighten them, received the popular faith as the foundation for his code, and placed the fetiche of the

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\* See Plut. *vit. Num.*

people among the things acknowledged and honored by the laws. Not that it is possible to root up *by force* a cherished popular superstition; that would be an insane attempt: but the ignorance which cherished it ought to have been combated, and, except by the so-called tyrant Hipparchus, it was not. This bad seed bore bitter fruit: the simple religion of the heart, which was of force to influence the life when duly appealed to, gradually gave place to a mass of fable which the very *canaille* laughed at whilst they upheld;—witness the favored comedies of Aristophanes;—and to a set of obscene ceremonies which sapped the very foundations of public morals; till at last this ugly offspring of the Orphic secret doctrine grew to power enough to be a fit ally for a political faction. Henceforward we shall no longer see the philosopher as an honored lawgiver; his next appearance will be as a fearless martyr to the truth; avowing his opinion and dying for it.

THE END.



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“Sunt etiam qui negent in iis qui in nostris libris disputent  
fuisse earum rerum de quibus disputantur, scientiam: qui mihi  
videtur non solum vivis, sed etiam mortuis invidere.”—*Cic.*  
*Lucull. c. 2.*

*Connelly, Caroline Frances*

# A BRIEF VIEW

OF

## GREEK PHILOSOPHY,

FROM THE

A G E O F S O C R A T E S

TO THE

COMING OF CHRIST.

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PHILADELPHIA:  
LEA AND BLANCHARD.

1846.

PHILADELPHIA:  
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PRINTERS.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

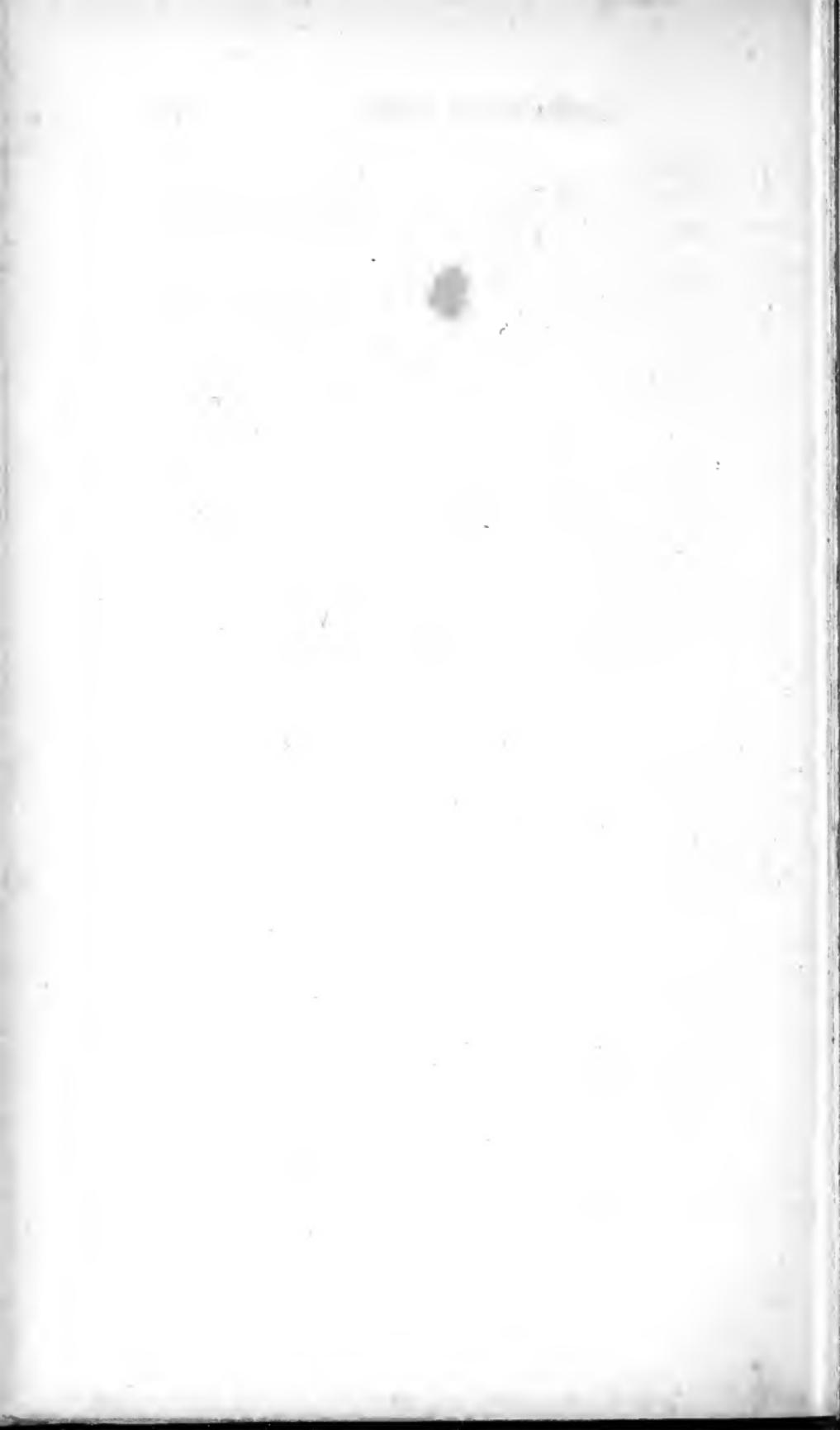
| B.C. | OLYMP.      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 471  | LXXXVII. 2  | Birth of Thucydides the historian. Banishment of Themistocles.                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 470  | — 3         | Birth of Socrates.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 450  | LXXXII. 3   | Archelaus, the pupil of Anaxagoras, flourished.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 449  | — 4         | Death of Cimon.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 445? | LXXXIII. 4? | Anaxagoras is banished for "impiety," being then aged about 55.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 444  | LXXXIV. 1   | Thucydides the son of Melesias banished. Protagoras the sophist flourished about this time: also Empedocles.                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 440  | LXXXV. 1    | Comedies interdicted by law. The Samian war.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 437  | — 4         | The law prohibiting the representation of comedies repealed.                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 436  | LXXXVI. 1   | Revolt of Potidaea.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 432  | LXXXVII. 1  | Beginning of the Peloponnesian war.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 430  | — 3         | Plague at Athens.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 428  | LXXXVIII. 1 | Plato born.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 425  | — 4         | Cleon takes the command at Sphacteria. The Acharnians of Aristophanes represented at the Dionysia.                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 424  | LXXXIX. 1   | Battle of Delium, where Socrates is said to have distinguished himself. Aristophanes' "Knights" represented.                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 423  | — 2         | Aristophanes' "Clouds" represented.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 422  | — 3         | Aristophanes' "Wasps" represented. Brasidas and Cleon killed at Amphipolis.                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 416  | xcI. 1      | Diagoras the Melian, called also the atheist, is condemned to death for "impiety:" on his non-appearance at his trial, his sentence is published, and a talent offered for his head, or two talents to whoever should deliver him up alive. Agathon gains the prize of tragedy. |
| 415  | — 2         | Alcibiades is impeached for ridiculing the mysteries, and mutilating the statues of Mercury. He goes into voluntary banishment.                                                                                                                                                 |

| B.C. | OLYMP.    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 414  | XCI. 3    | Diogenes of Sinope born.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 413  | — 4       | The Athenians defeated at Syracuse.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 412  | XCII. 1   | The rule of the 400 established at Athens.<br>Protagoras prosecuted by one of them for<br>“impiety”—his books burned, himself banished.                                                                                                                                |
| 406  | XCIII. 3  | The battle of Arginusæ fought. The victorious commanders tried for not burying the bodies of the slain, and on this pretext, put to death. Socrates refused to do his office of president on this occasion, asserting that the proceeding was illegal. Sophocles died. |
| 404  | XCIV. 1   | The Athenians defeated at <i>Ægospotamos</i> : Athens taken by Lysander: the rule of the thirty established: the walls of Peiræum, which were built by Themistocles, destroyed by the Lacedæmonians. Alcibiades assassinated.                                          |
| 401  | — 4       | The rule of the thirty overthrown by Thrasybulus, and the old government restored.                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 400  | XCV. 1    | Socrates put to death on the accusation of Anytus, Melitus, and Lycon.                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 396  | XCVI. 1   | Agesilaus King of Sparta successful in his attack on the Persians.                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 390  | XCVII. 3  | Rome burnt by the Gauls under Brennus.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 388  | XCVIII. 1 | Plato visits Sicily for the first time.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 384  | XCIX. 1   | Aristoteles born.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 376  | CI. 1     | Pyrrhon, the head of the Skeptic sect, born.                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 371  | CII. 2    | Epaminondas, the Theban general, defeats the Spartans at Leuctra.                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 368  | CIII. 1   | Aristoteles comes to Athens and enters the Academy. Eudoxus the astronomer flourished.                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 359  | CV. 2     | Philip of Macedon mounts the throne. Death of Xenophon.                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 348  | CVIII. 1  | Death of Plato. Aristoteles leaves Athens and visits Hermeias, tyrant of Assus and Atarneus.                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 345  | — 4       | Aristoteles takes refuge in Mitylene after the capture and execution of Hermeias.                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 344  | CIX. 1    | Timoleon delivers Syracuse from the tyranny of Dionysius the younger.                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 343  | — 2       | Aristoteles is invited to the court of Macedon to superintend the education of Alexander, who was then fifteen years of age.                                                                                                                                           |
| 342  | — 3       | Epicurus born.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

| B.C. | OLYMP.    |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 340  | CX. 1     | Anaxarchus, an Abderite of the school of Democritus, flourished; he was the master of Pyrrhon.                                                                                                              |
| 339  | — 2       | Death of Speusippus. Xenocrates succeeds him in the Academy.                                                                                                                                                |
| 338  | — 3       | Battle of Cheronaë, where Philip broke the power of Greece.                                                                                                                                                 |
| 336  | CXI. 1    | Philip of Macedon is assassinated.                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 335  | — 2       | Aristoteles comes to Athens, and opens a philosophical school in the Lyceum.                                                                                                                                |
| 334  | — 3       | Alexander begins his expedition into Asia.                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 324  | CXIV. 1   | Death of Alexander. Death of Diogenes of Sinope, aged 90. He is succeeded by Crates.                                                                                                                        |
| 323  | — 2       | Aristoteles, to avoid a prosecution for impiety, flies to Chalcis. Epicurus, aged 18, comes to Athens from Samos, where he was educated.                                                                    |
| 322  | — 3       | Death of Aristoteles at Chalcis, aged 63. Epicurus quits Athens and joins his father at Colophon.                                                                                                           |
| 318  | CXV. 3    | Demetrius Phalereus, a Peripatetic, made governor of Athens by Cassander.                                                                                                                                   |
| 316  | CXVI. 1   | Arcesilaus born.                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 315  | — 2       | Death of Xenocrates, Polemon succeeds him in the Academy. Stilpo flourished. Zeno of Cittium, founds the Sect of the Stoicks.                                                                               |
| 308  | CXVIII. 1 | Athens restored to its freedom by Demetrius Poliorcetes. <i>Heeren.</i>                                                                                                                                     |
| 307  | — 2       | Epicurus establishes himself as a teacher at Athens.                                                                                                                                                        |
| 301  | CXIX. 4.  | Battle of Ipsus, in which Antigonus, the father of Demetrius, is defeated and killed, and his possessions divided amongst the conquerors. Demetrius flies to Greece, but is denied refuge by the Athenians. |
| 97   | CXX. 4    | Demetrius again obtains possession of Athens.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 294  | CXXI. 3   | Demetrius is placed on the throne of Macedonia by the army.                                                                                                                                                 |
| 288  | CXXIII. 1 | Death of Theophrastus, aged 85: Strato succeeds him at the Lyceum.                                                                                                                                          |
| 287  | — 2       | Athens throws off the yoke, and resumes its ancient government; Demetrius, though driven from his throne, nevertheless invests the town, but at the persuasion of Crates                                    |

| B.C. | OLYMP.      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|      |             | yields to their wishes. He passes the rest of his life in exile with his father-in-law, Seleucus. <i>Heeren.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 284  | cxxiv. 1    | The Ætolian league formed for defence, against the oppression of Macedon; accession of Ptolemy II., called Philadelphus.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 281  | — 4         | The Achaian league renewed by four cities which had freed themselves from their tyrants.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 278  | cxxv. 3     | Irruption of the Gauls into Greece, under another Brennus. They take Delphi. Sosethenes, King of Macedon, is slain in battle with them. Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, takes advantage of the opportunity to seat himself on the throne of his father. Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, drives him thence for a time, but after the death of that monarch, he again obtains the kingdom. |
| 275  | cxxvi. 2    | Pyrrhus defeated by the Romans, after considerable successes in his invasion of Italy.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 272  | cxxvii. 1   | Pyrrhus killed in his attack upon Sparta.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 271  | — 2         | Death of Epicurus, aged 72. Death of Strato Lampsacenus, the Peripatetic. He is succeeded by Lycon.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 264  | cxxix. 1    | Death of Zeno of Cittium, founder of the Stoic sect, aged 98?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 260  | cxxx. 1     | Victory of the Roman Duilius over the Carthaginians by sea.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 251  | cxxxii. 2   | Sicyon, under its deliverer Aratus, joins the Achaian league.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 244  | cxxxiv. 1   | Attempt of Agis, King of Sparta, to restore the ancient laws of Lycurgus.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 243  | — 2         | Corinth and Megara join the Achaian league.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 242  | — 3         | Death of Antigonus Gonatas.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 241  | — 4         | Death of Arcesilaus, aged 75. Agis, King of Sparta, his grandmother and mother put to death.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 229  | cxxxvii. 4  | Athens joins the Achaian league. <i>Heeren.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 226  | cxxxviii. 3 | Cleomenes, King of Sparta, carries out the designs of Agis.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 215  | cxl. 2      | Death of Lacydes, the successor of Arcesilaus in the Academy.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 214  | — 3         | Carneades born.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 211  | cxlii. 2    | Alliance of Rome with the Ætolians, in which Sparta, Elis, Attalus of Pergamus, and                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

| B.C. | OLYMP.      |                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 203  | CXLIV. 2    | Skerdilaidas, and Pleuratus of Illyria join : finally also the Athenians and Rhodians.                                                                                                    |
| 200  | CXLV. 1     | Philip of Macedon makes war on Attalus, the ally of Rome.                                                                                                                                 |
| 197  | — 4         | Rome declares war on Philip.                                                                                                                                                              |
| 196  | CXLVI. 1    | T. Quintius Flaminius terminates the war with Macedon by the victory of Cynoscephalæ.                                                                                                     |
| 188  | CXLVIII. 1? | Greece restored to its freedom by Flaminius. Philopœmen compels the Lacedæmonians to demolish their walls and abrogate the laws of Lycurgus.                                              |
| 183  | CXLIX. 2    | Death of Philopœmen, the general of the Achaian league.                                                                                                                                   |
| 168  | CLIII. 1    | The battle of Pydna, which subjects the Macedonian kingdom to Rome.                                                                                                                       |
| 166  | — 3         | Perseus, the last king of Macedon, dies at Rome.                                                                                                                                          |
| 155  | CLVI. 2?    | Carneades is sent to Rome on a mission from Athens, in company with Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic.                                                                    |
| 146  | CLVIII. 3   | The Achaians declare war against Sparta and Rome, upon which being worsted, Achaea is declared a Roman province. A nominal freedom is left to Athens, and some other considerable cities. |
| 129  | CLXII. 4    | Death of Carneades, aged 85.                                                                                                                                                              |
| 87   | CLXXXIII. 2 | Athens taken and ruined by Sylla, 1 March.<br><i>Heeren.</i>                                                                                                                              |
| 80   | CLXXXV. 1   | The Academy ends with Antiochus Ascalonita.                                                                                                                                               |
| 63   | CLXXXIX. 2  | Marcus Tullius Cicero, consul.                                                                                                                                                            |



## I.

### STATE OF ATHENS—SOCRATES.

B. C. 470 TO B. C. 400.

THE former part of this little work exhibited the fortunes of Greece and its civilization, from its first dawnings in the ancient kingdoms of Sicyon and Argos, up to its meridian of splendor under the great men who maintained the liberties of their country against the mightiest empire then existing:—wrenched from the invader even more than he had won from them,—and bequeathed to the next generation the fame of their deeds, and the plunder of Persia for their inheritance. They were two dangerous gifts. Athens, rich, powerful, proud of her place in the van of Grecian combatants, which her great generals had won for their country, and presuming on the supremacy of the seas, which none could now contest with her, ruled her dependencies with no light hand; and Sparta, jealous of a greatness which it feared in its growing might, and hated for the opposite political system which it everywhere supported, lent a ready ear to the complaints of Athenian oppression made by the discontented. Yet the great league for the humiliation of Athens, which united against her nearly all Greece in the Peloponnesian war, found the force which had humbled Persia no easy conquest, and nearly thirty years of almost single-handed conflict scarcely sufficed to undo the work of Themistocles, of Cimon, and of Pericles. Nay, when she did fall, it may be truly said, that it was not so much the might

of her enemies, as the internal vices of the state, which broke her strength, and paralyzed the exertions of that once high-minded people.

In the earlier part of the Grecian history, we have seen that the natural respect for superior knowledge had generally given to the philosopher the task of legislating for his countrymen; but the decree of the Athenian people, procured by Diopœithes about sixteen years before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, by which any attempt to innovate on the existing popular superstition was made a capital offence,\* was the commencement of a new epoch. It will be desirable before entering upon it to take a slight view of the previous state of Athens.

The fundamental principle of the Athenian constitution, as settled by Solon, appears to have been that of resting the government of the state in those who had a sufficient stake in it to make it their interest to preserve peace and good order; and as the minimum property qualification for political office was not more than would now be equal to about forty or fifty pounds per annum, of freehold property, and the fourth class, or Thetes, who were excluded from office, were nevertheless allowed to serve on juries,† and vote at elections; the state, even by his code, must have made as near an approach to a pure democracy as was consistent, probably, with a due administration of the laws. Solon appears, indeed, to have intended to set up an antagonist power in the court of Areopagus, consisting of those who had held the highest offices of the state; and to have guarded against the precipitation of popular movements

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\* See Plutarch, *vit. Peric.*

† I use this term as approaching the nearest to a description of the office filled by the dicast. These juries, however, consisted of many hundreds.

by the various forms appointed to be gone through in the Council or Senate, before a law was presented to the assembly of the people for its final confirmation or rejection; but still there is no modern government which is so completely popular. Perhaps we have a nearer approach to the Athenian constitution, in the municipal government of the city of London, than in any other existing institution; the Livery, Common Council, and Court of Alderman, representing tolerably well the Assembly of the People, Senate, and Court of Areopagus, of Athens.

Before Solon undertook the reform of the laws, considerable oppression must have been exercised, for the very prohibitions show the practices that had existed. Bondage was abolished; and no man was allowed to pledge his own body as security for a debt, or to sell his children or other relatives: mortgages and debts, which were become ruinous from the excessive rate of interest, were reduced by some equitable arrangement, which cleared the land of its burdens, or were rendered less onerous by a reduction of the rate; and a provision was made for such as should be mutilated in war, or otherwise incapacitated from maintaining themselves. In order to claim this latter provision, however, it was needful to prove, that the whole property of the claimant did not amount to more than the worth of three minas, or about twelve pounds sterling; which, calculating the price of articles of necessity at that period, was about equal to forty pounds in our own age and country.\* All extreme indigence was in this manner avoided; for the sum bestowed was sufficient to purchase a full supply of food daily; and thus, those who had little or no property, had still an interest in

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\* Boeckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, Bk. ii. c. 17.

the maintenance of good order, as their own well-being depended on it. Orphans, whose fathers had perished in war, were the charge of the state ; they were fed, clothed, and educated up to eighteen years of age, then provided with a complete suit of armor, and enrolled in the army. They were the especial children of their country, and as such bound to defend it.

Though bondage among the native Athenians had been abolished, slavery was still permitted : in those times it was so universal, that it would scarcely have been possible to have abolished it in one small state ; and though we may probably trace the downfall of all the republics of antiquity to that cause, yet the evil grew up so gradually, that it was difficult at its commencement to anticipate the fearful magnitude that it would arrive at. Probably, in Solon's time, the slave was but a workman to aid the citizen in cultivating his lands : but we generally see, that ere long, the distinction between the free man and the slave is placed in the exemption of the former from manual labor ; and then idleness and dissipation, and all their demoralizing influences, follow. They did so at Athens to a frightful extent.

By the laws of Solon, the expenses of the religious festivals and sacrifices were limited ; but this part of the code very soon became a dead letter ; for as the beasts offered were distributed among the poorer sort, those chiefs who wished to gain the popular favor, took this indirect mode of securing it. Splendid feasts, and immense sacrifices were made on all occasions by those who were rich, and wished to be powerful, until the people learned to consider this as an indispensable part of the administration of the state ; and, from a private disbursement, it became a public one. Pericles has been accused of

having been the first thus to apply the public money, and of having by these means, hastened the ruin of the country. The law of Diopeithes, however, shows that his cotemporaries suspected him of an intention to make a considerable change in this respect; which in fact was made, during the zenith of his power, by the interdiction of the exhibition of comedies at the festival of the Dionysia. This law remained in force only three years, at the end of which time it was repealed, and comedies were again acted: it would seem, therefore, that he only yielded to a torrent which he was unable to stem. This great man seems to have entertained the splendid project of making Athens the head of the whole Grecian confederation; and, probably, he contemplated the introduction of a better system as soon as this should be accomplished: for the life of Anaxagoras seems to have been especially precious to him, on account of the aid he expected to derive from him in the administration of the state. This seems the more likely, because from the time he triumphed over his opponents, his biographer tells us, that he assumed a more authoritative manner; and seemed determined to rule, rather than to conciliate, the people. Had he lived, it is likely that he might have accomplished his purpose; but his death left the moral plague of the state to be treated by unskillful hands, and the patient sunk into a state of incurable disease.

The dicasts, or jurymen, appointed for the hearing of causes, were required by the laws of Solon, to give their services gratis; unless, indeed, we may suppose the prytancia, or small deposits, paid into court by each party on commencing an action, were distributed among the dicasts from the first. When, therefore, the jurisdiction of Athens became extended, and the whole of her dependencies were com-

elled to bring their suits to her courts, this duty became onerous ; and, in the time of Pericles, the custom was introduced of paying one obolus, per cause, to each of the dicasts, as a small remuneration for the time thus consumed ; which, as they were mostly artisans and people of small means, they could not afford to waste. But the custom being once introduced, it became the means of gaining popular favor at a cheap rate in the hands of subsequent demagogues ; and the pay was augmented from one obolus to three, as most think, by Cleon. As the dicasts employed in one cause amounted to some hundreds,\* this soon became a source of maintenance to many, and there was thus a strong inducement to lengthen out causes, to the great inconvenience of suitors from a distance, who then had recourse to bribes, to induce the needy dicasts to make a speedy decision, and allow them to return to their homes. This was undoubtedly one of the causes that hastened the downfall of Athens, for it created universal discontent among the states subject to her, and as universal a political corruption among her citizens.

The condition in which the laws of Solon placed the female sex was not favorable to morality. Though by this code, their sale was forbidden, excepting in cases of gross misbehavior, yet the permitted sale on these occasions, at once put them on the footing of slaves ; and the numerous burdensome regulations which their movements were subjected to, with the view, it would seem, of *compelling*

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\* The ten courts at Athens required five hundred dicasts each ; thus five thousand citizens received daily pay, excepting on holidays, which perhaps amounted to about sixty days in the year.

an unremitting attention to domestic affairs, prevented any of that intercourse with the external world, which would enlarge the mind, and make the wife or the mother an object of respect to the husband or the son. Ignorance and narrow-mindedness are an ill soil for any graceful virtue to grow up in ; and, however much Aristophanes may have libeled his countrywomen, we cannot avoid confessing, that a state in which such libels could be listened to patiently, must have arrived at a fearful point of licentiousness, as far as regarded the manners of the male sex, if not also of the female.

The consequences of unintentional oversights, and intentional party measures in modern legislation, can hardly be judged of by those whose minds are still heated by the political contests they have been engaged in : it is instructive, therefore, to contemplate the primary causes of failure in legislative enactments, at a distance of time that may allow us to judge of them calmly. In the course of a century, Solon's laws were become almost nugatory, and we can now see that his code carried the seeds of its own decay. It permitted slavery ;—and hardy industry soon gave place to idleness and profligacy :—it withheld the truth from the people, and countenanced a false superstition ;—and this was soon made the tool of faction ; and religion, instead of a guide to the heart, became a calculation of interest, or an excuse for profligacy ;—it found and left women in a state of slavery :—and such a frightful demoralization and degradation of the other sex ensued, that no modern writer can even touch upon the subject without disgusting his readers.

Such was the state of Athens, when the great man, who amid such wide-spread corruption still maintained his integrity, was snatched from his post by

the plague which desolated the city about the end of the eighty-seventh Olympiad. We have traced with admiring eyes the hitherto glorious career of this small state; we shall now have to follow its decline, and with it, that of its rivals: for, as Athens had marched in the vanguard of Grecian civilization and greatness, so her downfall was followed, in no long time after, by that of her short-sighted enemies. Sixty years after the long walls, planned by Themistocles, and built by Pericles, had been pulled down by the Spartans, the decisive battle of Cheronæa laid the liberties of all Greece at the feet of Philip of Macedon. Sparta, which had but its iron men to recommend it, sunk into irrecoverable ruin,—the late, but unfailing retribution for the national sin of Helotism:—but Athens, though its political existence was lost, still kept its place as the seat of art and science; its schools supplied a preceptor for the conqueror of Persia, and even as late as the time of Cicero, foreigners traveled thither to study philosophy.

The buoyancy of the human mind is not easily crushed, and though Anaxagoras died in banishment, this did not prevent ARCHELAUS from filling his chair at Athens; but made cautious by the fate of his master, he confined himself mainly to physics, taught the easy doctrine, that nothing was right or wrong *per se*, but became either the one or the other by the law of the state,\* and by dexterously trimming his course to the times, escaped the danger of offending the people.

About this time, Criton, a rich Athenian, was one day passing the small workshop of a sculptor, where a young man was busily employed at his trade: he had seen this youth before, listening with eager at-

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. ii., §§ 16, 17.

tention to the philosophical lectures of Anaxagoras and Archelaus, and he entered into conversation with him ; for it was something unusual, even in Athens, to see the laborious earnings of a young and unknown artist devoted merely to the pursuit of philosophy. Criton was charmed with the talent, as well as modesty of the young student ; and, with a generosity which at that time, probably, he little thought would immortalize his name, bestowed on the intelligent youth the means of pursuing his studies without need for farther manual labor.\* The name of this youth was **SOCRATES**.

Athens was then in the zenith of her power, yet whoever watched the state of society, could hardly fail to observe in it the seeds of dissolution. The enlightened Pericles had failed in his endeavors to set a higher standard of religion and morals ; and his wise and excellent preceptor had suffered the penalty of preaching the truth too boldly. The grossness of the public exhibitions, and the license of convivial meetings were such, that the great and virtuous man who held the reins of government would never countenance them by his presence ; and yet this, instead of discouraging the practice, only excited the vengeance of the comedians and debauchees of the city. Pericles was made the mark for insult and calumny, but vice walked abroad as unblushingly as ever.

It is easy to conceive what must have been the impression made by such a state of things on a young and earnest mind, which had drunk in, as its first milk of knowledge, the sublime doctrines of Anaxagoras. Socrates caught up the mantle of the prophet, like another Elisha, and vowed himself to the

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. ii., § 20.

improvement of his fellow men. In the gymnasia, in the agora, in the workshops of the citizens, he was constantly to be found, mixing with the throng, detecting and reprobating vice, and teaching men, by pertinent and searching questions, the folly, as well as the immorality of their conduct. His skill in disputation was soon exercised by a set of men, who about this time sprang up, under the title of Sophists; persons who professed to be acquainted with the whole round of science, and capable of imparting this knowledge for a large sum of money.\* Philosophy was the fashion, and, among the young nobility, these teachers found numerous pupils, who learned from them that species of reasoning which to this day is called sophistry, and with it a morality so loose and large that *immorality* would be a more proper term for it. The ichneumon is not a greater enemy to a serpent, than Socrates was to a sophist: he foiled them with their own subtleties of speech, and detected the fallacies of their argument by a series of close reasoning which nothing but truth can endure. The noble youth of Athens enjoyed this war of wits, and followed the steps of the moralist more for the sake of amusement than profit; but they followed; and Socrates, if he could not win them to virtue, at least taught them to respect it.†

It is not now possible to tell exactly what were the political views of the philosophical party in Athens. That there was such a party, formed as early as the time of Pericles and Anaxagoras, can

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\* Protagoras of Abdera, said to be the first who received money for his instructions, charged an hundred minas, or upwards of £400 of our money, for the complete education of a pupil. See Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, Book i., ch. 21.

† See Xenoph., Memor., lib. i., c. 2, § 24.

hardly be doubted; and subsequent events lead to the conjecture that the abolition, or at least, modification of the democratical power, was one of its objects; a design which, though distasteful enough to the people, might certainly be entertained at that period by a true patriot, as the only means of preventing the ruin of the state, and with it, of Greece generally, and almost of mankind; whose higher destinies seemed at that time cradled in that small nook of earth. Socrates appears to have formed a hope,—not unnatural in one who felt his own great powers and upright intentions,—that he might so far influence the young men who crowded round him, as to prepare a happier future for his country and for Greece. Alcibiades, whose talents and rank pointed him out as a fit successor to his uncle Pericles, was the object of his first attention: \* he followed him in the crowd; sought his confidence, and succeeded so far as to win the esteem and affection of that most versatile and profligate of all the Athenians; but he could get no farther, and he seems to have turned in despair from him, to others more likely to fulfil his wishes.

Xenophon, the future leader of the ten thousand in their perilous retreat, was the next whom he cast his spell upon. Meeting him in a narrow way, he stopped his progress with his staff; and after asking him some few questions of less import, inquired of him where and how good and upright men might be found. It was a puzzling demand in Athens at that

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\* The profligacy of the age, which could not even believe in virtue, assigned a less pure motive to the attention of the philosopher; but the unvarying testimony of his pupils, and of Alcibiades himself to the virtue and self-denial of this excellent man, leave it only to be regretted that any modern writer should think such calumnies worth repeating.

time, and the young man hesitated. "Come, then," said Socrates, "and learn."\*—He did so, and to him it is that we owe the lovely portraiture of the life and conversation of the master whom he never afterwards forsook. But the talent and worth which Socrates had so anxiously cherished for his country's benefit, was never used in its service. Xenophon too was banished, for a supposed leaning to the policy of Sparta. He also had probably adopted the political views of the philosophical party.

The last on whom Socrates seems to have founded his hopes, was the younger Pericles; the son of the gifted Aspasia. Xenophon has left us a touching account of an interview between the young warrior, just appointed to command, and the now aged philosopher, who still, with all the buoyancy of youthful hope, endeavored to inspire his pupil with the spirit of his great parent.† He found an apt scholar, and the victory of Arginusæ, where he was one of the commanders, threw a final lustre over the last scion of a race identified with the glory of Athens.‡ But the son of Pericles, and the disciple of Socrates, now a victorious general, was too dangerous to the demagogues of Athens to be allowed to live: the conquer-

\* Diog. Laert., lib. ii., § 48.

† Xenoph., Memor., lib. iii., c. 4. The elder Pericles lost both his sons by his first marriage, in the great plague, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. His son, by his second marriage with Aspasia, was legitimatized by the gratitude of the people of Athens, though the mother was not a citizen of that state.

‡ Pericles, the elder, was the son of Xanthippus, who commanded at Mycale; and his mother was the niece of Cleisthenes, by whom the tyrant Hippias was driven from Athens. Alcibiades was the son of his brother: the victorious commander at Arginusæ was the last of the family, apparently, if we except a son of Alcibiades made memorable only by a pleading of Isocrates on his behalf.

ing chiefs were recalled,—accused upon frivolous grounds,—and the assembly of the people excited against him by the basest arts: no defence was listened to, the forms of law were broken through, and he, and such of his colleagues as returned with him, were condemned to death. On that day Socrates was one of the presidents of the senate, whose duty it was to put the question to the assembly; and in the face of that incensed multitude, edged on by their leaders, and howling like wild beasts for their prey—a scene, as Xenophon describes it, which might have appalled the bravest—the only bold man in Athens stood up, faced their fury, and refused to put a decree in writing which was contrary to law,\* or to countenance the condemnation of innocent men: but he stood alone; none had courage to second his righteous determination, and the victors of Arginusæ were sacrificed to the popular madness. That fearful night, when one scream of lamentation ran from Peiræus to the city, after the fatal defeat of Ægospotamos, when no eye in Athens closed to sleep,—well revenged them on their murderers:—the last hope of the state sunk in those bloody waves, and the rule of the thirty tyrants followed the surrender of the city to the Lacedæmonians.

The tyrannous proceedings of these men soon excited the animadversions of Socrates; and Critias, one of the number, who had formerly been among his disciples, and who had been roughly reproved by him for his vices, sent for his old teacher, and enjoined him silence. Finding him unyielding on this point, another plan was tried; and he was commanded, with three others, to seize Leon of Salamis,—a man whose only crime was his coveted wealth,

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\* Xenoph., Hist. Gr., lib. i., Memor., l. i., c. 18.

—and to conduct him to death. It was hoped thus to make the philosopher a sharer in the crime, and to disgrace him in the eyes of the people; but that fearless moralist heard the order with silent contempt, and instead of executing it, retired to his house.\* Still, amid all their crimes, the former disciples of the sage could not resolve on ridding themselves of his remonstrances by the hand of the executioner, and he survived their rule. But the presence of a man whose integrity neither fear nor interest could warp, was beginning to be irksome in a corrupt city; and scarcely was the ancient government restored, before an accusation was preferred against him under the law of Diopeithes, for introducing new gods, and for corrupting the youth of the city.†

Socrates was now verging on seventy, and his life had not been such as to make death an evil to him; his resolution therefore was quickly taken: it was a part of duty to submit to the laws, therefore he came into court and pleaded; but he disdained any of the mean arts usual on such occasions: instead of seeking to excite the compassion of the judges, he reminded them of his own virtuous life, in which none of the duties of a citizen had been neglected. He was accused of being a corrupter of youth;—he appealed to the Pythian oracle, which had pronounced him the wisest, the freest, and the most upright of men; and then doing himself a justice which the occasion demanded, he continued,—“Whom have you ever known less in bondage to the pleasures of sense? whom more free? since I have taken neither gift nor reward from any. Whom would you consider more upright than one who satisfies himself

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\* Plato, *Apol. Soc.*

† *Diog. Laert.*, lib. ii., § 40.

with what he has, without wishing or asking for anything from others ? or wiser than one who, from the time he could understand what was said to him, has never ceased to seek and to learn what was good and right to do ? And that I did not labor in vain, the esteem of all good men, whether at home or abroad, has shown.” With a noble confidence he called upon his accusers to show the youth whose piety, or whose morals he had injured.—“But,” said the persecutor, “you have taught them to listen to you, rather than to their parents.”—“When I was more able to teach them what was right and good, I confess it,” replied the sage ;—“you trust your son to the physician’s care, rather than your own, when he is sick.”\*—Plato, then young, and an ardent admirer of his great master, whom, when old himself, he still professed to consider as the best and the wisest of men,—attempted to speak in his justification ; but he was under the age at which citizens were permitted to address the people, and he was silenced.† On taking the votes, Socrates was condemned by 281 against 275 : it remained only to assign the sentence. Criton and Plato tried to commute it for a considerable fine, which they were ready to pay, in order to preserve their beloved friend ; but the democratic party, joined with those incited by private pique, carried the original proposition ; and the greatest man Athens ever produced, was condemned to death. He heard his sentence with the calmness that might be expected from his character, and left the court with these remarkable words :—“An unjust sentence is no dishonor to me ; on those who have pronounced it, falls the shame ; for I know well that all future time will testify, as the past has done, that no one ever suffered injus-

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\* Xenoph., Soc. Def.

† Diog. Laert., lib. ii. § 40.

tice from me; that no one was a worse man through my agency; but that it was always my endeavor, without fee or reward, to benefit all who conversed with me, and to make them wiser and better men." Having thus spoken, he left the court with a cheerful countenance, gently chiding his weeping friends for their sorrow.

It would be a pleasant task to trace more at large the life and death of a man, whose long and bright career seems to have been marked by less of human frailty than is usually found, even among those whom we call the best; and who, in disinterested exertion for the good of his fellow-creatures, regardless of personal safety, yields only to that ONE with whom no mortal can be placed in competition. But the limits of this small work forbid the attempt.

It would be vain to trace the philosophical system of Socrates; he had none but such as springs naturally from a belief in a superintending Providence, and a future state; a faith which leads equally to humility and to virtue; and whilst others admired his wisdom, he professed that it consisted merely in being aware that he knew nothing. Like Anaxagoras, he lived for another world;\* and in another world he has doubtless found his reward. His life was his philosophy.

Various have been the opinions respecting the heavenly voice which Socrates, it is said, asserted to have been the guide of his actions: but if we may credit Plutarch, who makes Simmias, one of Socrates' most favored companions, say, that he had asked his former teacher concerning it, and received

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\* When some one asked Anaxagoras if he felt no anxiety to return to his country; "Yes," said he, pointing to the skies, "to my real country." Diog. Laert., in vit. Anaxag.

no answer;\* and who doubtless reports the traditions handed down in other writers; the mode of this intervention was quite unknown; and it must remain a matter of doubt whether, when Socrates claimed the divine admonition from within, he intended to allude to anything beyond that guidance which a soul purified by faith, prayer, and a temperate life, and cultivated by useful study, is wont to receive from its Creator. The commonest experience must have taught us that the image of God within us is a reflected one only, and the mirror that is kept the brightest and cleanest, will reflect it the best. He whose life and thoughts are modeled according to the pattern of the Deity, even though the imitation be but a distant one, acquires something of his fore-knowledge also, for he sees the true consequences of actions; and many times will almost pass for a prophet with those whose minds have been less carefully trained. But even should we believe that the virtuous Socrates did indeed lay claim to a special divine guidance, why should we think a Greek unworthy of what was vouchsafed to a Hebrew? If the "Word of the Lord" came to Amos "among the herdsmen of Tekoa," why should the humble shop of the sculptor be unvisited, when a preacher of righteousness was to be raised up, whose voice should recall men to the path they had wandered from? A voice which, in fact, did echo from heart to heart, long after the mortal frame of the speaker had crumbled into dust. The acuteness, the integrity, the common sense, so apparent in the character of Socrates, equally forbid us to suppose him either an enthusiast or a deceiver: if, therefore, he claimed a divine mission, he did it not without good grounds; and who will say that he was unworthy to have received it?

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\* Plut., *de Socratis dæmonio.*

## DEMOCRITUS AND HIS SCHOOL.

B. C. 480 TO B. C. 404.

BEFORE entering on the examination of the different philosophical sects which had their origin among the pupils of Socrates, it will be necessary to notice another and cotemporary school, that of DEMOCRITUS. This philosopher, who lived to the extraordinary age of 104, or, as some say, of 109 years, was a native of Abdera, a city of Thrace. He was a child when Xerxes passed the Hellespont; and made such large requisitions for the entertainment of himself and his army from the countries he traversed, that one of the citizens of Abdera is said to have observed, that “the Abderites ought to go in procession to the temples to thank the gods for not inclining Xerxes to eat twice a day, instead of once, for if they had been commanded to provide a dinner for him equal to his supper, they must have been reduced to utter beggary.”\* The father of Democritus was noble and wealthy; and his entertainment of the Persian monarch was so liberal, that the king is said to have left him some of the Magian and Chaldean sages in his train, as preceptors for his young son.†

It was probably owing to this circumstance that the mind of Democritus was turned so strongly to philosophical pursuits. In order to acquire all the knowledge then to be found in the world, he traveled for many years, over all the countries which had the reputation of science. After spending his

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\* Herod., lib. vii.

† Diog. Laert., lib. ix., § 35.

whole substance in this pursuit, he returned home, and lived in the most frugal manner, on the bounty of his brother ; but nothing could deaden his thirst for knowledge ; and in his humble dwelling, he still pursued his experiments in philosophy, and his researches into the nature of things. Once he visited Athens, and boasted that he had seen Socrates, though unknown to him,\* and to the Athenians generally ; for he seems to have shunned celebrity, as much as his friend and disciple Protagoras sought it. He is said to have derided the follies of men as much as Heraclitus had lamented them, and rarely to have appeared in public without laughing at what he heard and saw : and this is not surprising ; for as his time was almost wholly devoted to experimental philosophy, he must have found ample room for ridicule in the vulgar errors of his day upon such subjects. The moralist, Heraclitus, on the contrary, could have found no room for merriment in the licentiousness of his country.

As the writings of Democritus are lost, it is impossible to say what extent of knowledge his researches had acquired for him : the loss is the more to be regretted as there is scarcely a subject in natural philosophy which he did not treat of ; and from his habits of careful experiment we may suppose that he did not assert lightly what he taught on such subjects. Somewhat of private pique at finding that Anaxagoras shunned his acquaintance, led him to treat the opinions of that philosopher with little respect : for he averred that the notion of the Ionian sage respecting the sun and moon, *i. e.*, that of their solid, terrestrial nature, was not by any means his own, but stolen from the doctrine of the ancients on

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. ix., § 36.

that subject; and he “pulled to pieces” also,—such is the expression of his biographer,\*—the opinions of Anaxagoras respecting the formation of things, and the creative mind. By the term *διαχόσμησις*, *i. e.*, generation or government of things, he probably understood the *δημοιομέρειαι*, or exactly similar particles which went to the formation of each body, according to the system in question. The difference between the two philosophers on this point appears to have been, that Anaxagoras believed the particles to have no natural movement, and to be the mere clay in the hand of the potter,—the stuff which the Eternal Mind (*νοῦς*) moulded to his will by an immediate art;—Democritus, on the contrary, considered the atoms which he supposed the universe to be composed of, to have peculiar inherent qualities which form a part of their very nature; not of color, smell, taste, heat, or cold, these being mere accidents resulting from a peculiar state or combination; but a disposition to a peculiar movement, by which these combinations were effected. In this, if our modern philosophy mistake not, Democritus was nearer right than his rival; for it is by the properties impressed on matter in the first instance, or, in other words, by the forces thus brought into action, and not by immediate interference, that the hand of the Creator manifests itself. As far as modern discovery has gone, we are obliged to acknowledge a considerable variety either in the elemental atoms themselves, or their properties; for oxygen of the same volume contains sixteen times the weight of hydrogen, and thus it becomes clear, either that the elemental atoms of which it is composed must be more dense, or the substance less elastic, or that the particles must ex-

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. ix., § 35.

ercise a less repulsive power, and thus be more numerous in a given space. Democritus having arrived at the point, that the coherence of the universe, and the phenomena of matter, might all be traced to the primary qualities of the elemental atoms, paused; "we know not the cause of this," said he, "the truth is hid very deep."\* His early intercourse with the Magians, and his own subsequent researches, seem to have led him to lean to the notion, that as the sun's light and heat were the great agents in the combination and movement of the primary particles, so that some divine power resided in it, and that it might be considered as the soul of the world.†

The life and moral doctrines of Democritus were pure, and his death peaceful. He is said to have considered the great happiness of life to consist in the freedom from tormenting cares and fears, and superstitions; the most blessed state being that of complete tranquillity. He has been called an atheist, so also was Anaxagoras, and so also were the first Christians; we may conclude, therefore, that this term, in the language of the times, meant no more than that the person so distinguished, did not believe in the established superstitions.‡ Deeply engaged during his whole life in physical research, Democritus appears to have contented himself with leaving untouched the arcana which he could not penetrate. He was aware that there were great truths which he had not reached; and we may pro-

\* αἰτιή δὲ ἐδὲν θύμεν, ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ οὐ ἀληθεῖα. Diog. Laert., lib. ix., § 72.

† See Cyril cont. Jul., lib. i.

‡ To this day, in Italy, all who doubt of the Romish *fables*—not of the fundamental doctrines, on which the Romanist unites with all Christian churches—are currently termed atheists.

bably, with more justice, call that humility which his successors called atheism. He fulfilled his duties to the best of his power, and waited, patiently for more light; not deeming that he knew, and not hoping to know those deep things, whose full profundity none ever feel so thoroughly as those who have pushed research to the utmost; and having done so—having, like Vishnu in the Hindū fable, burrowed in the earth, and soared in the air, and yet failed to find either the head or feet of the Creator—bow their wearied heads in the dust, and acknowledge the difference between the Finite and the Infinite.

Democritus had several disciples: among these, two of the most famous were his fellow-citizen PROTAGORAS, and DIAGORAS, the Melian. The former is said to have been originally a wood-cutter from a neighboring village, whose clever mode of tying up his load attracted the attention of Democritus in one of his walks: \* he undertook his instruction, and under his tuition, Protagoras acquired rhetoric and philosophy. The former wood-carrier profited so well by his master's teaching, that he soon became famous, and was one of the first of the class already mentioned, on whom the title of sophist was bestowed, and who undertook, for a sum of money, to teach the whole round of science to whoever sought their instruction. Though the sketch which Plato has given us under his name must have owed much to the imagination of that most graphic of writers,—for when Protagoras visited Athens, the author of the dialogue was not yet born,—yet as doubtless the scene he gives was drawn from the life, it will be a relief from graver and drier matters, to take a view

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\* Athen., l. viii. 50. The circumstance is mentioned also by Aulus Gellius.

of the interior of a great man's house in Athens, where no less than three famous sophists were the guests. The scene is laid about the time when Athenian power was at its height, just before the Peloponnesian war; and when the banishment of Anaxagoras had made way for a very different style of philosophy. Socrates was then young, and he is, as usual, introduced by his clever disciple as a sort of lay figure, to be dressed in the garb best suited to the occasion.

“ Hippocrates, the son of Apollodorus,” says the pseudo relator, “ came this morning before it was light, and knocked at my door with his stick: as soon as it was opened, he came straight to my room, crying, ‘ Socrates, are you awake?’ and I, knowing his voice, replied: ‘ Why, this is Hippocrates!—what is the matter?’—‘ Nothing, or nothing but good.’—‘ So much the better; but what is it?—and why are you come now?’—‘ Protagoras is arrived,’ said he, coming nearer. ‘ He has been here some time,’ said I; ‘ have you only just heard it?’—‘ By the Gods! not till last evening;’—and, feeling about for my bed, he sat down at my feet, and said, ‘ Last evening coming back late from Cœnoe, for my slave Satyrus had run away from me,—and certainly I should have told you that I was going after him, but something else put it out of my head;—after I had got home, and we had supped, and were going to bed, my brother told me that Protagoras was arrived; and then I was immediately coming to you, but I thought the night too far advanced; and so, hastily taking the sleep which my fatigue required, I presently rose and came hither.’ I, knowing his warm temper, asked him if Protagoras had injured him in any way? ‘ Yes, by the Gods, Socrates,’ replied he, laughing, ‘ for he chooses to keep all his learning to

himself, and will not make me wise too.'—'By Jove,' said I, 'if you persuade him, by giving him plenty of money, he will be very ready to make you learned also.' 'Oh Jupiter, and all the Gods ! if that were all,' exclaimed he, 'I would not leave a penny in my own purse, or my friends' either. And it is exactly for this that I am come to you, that you might speak to him for me ; for I am young, and I never saw Protagoras, or heard him speak. I was a child when he first came to Athens, but now I hear everybody praising him, and talking of his skill in speaking. Why cannot we go to him now, when we shall be sure to find him at home ? He is staying, as I hear, with Callias, the son of Hipponicus. Let us go.'—'By no means, my good friend,' said I, 'it is too early: but we will go into the hall, and there we may walk and pass away the time till it is light; then we will go; for Protagoras usually spends his time in doors, so that we may be tolerably sure of catching him within.' Socrates is then made to question his friend as to what he proposes to learn from Protagoras. Hippocrates confesses that by going to a sophist for instruction he must learn to be a sophist himself. "And would you not be ashamed to be known to the Greeks as a sophist?" asks his friend. "Why, by Jove, if I am to confess the truth, I think I should," replies the young man: however, an Athenian's curiosity being excited by "some new thing," must be gratified, and the friends depart for the residence of Callias; but some difference of opinion having arisen in their conversation by the way, they walk up and down before the door till they have settled their dispute. "The porter, who is a eunuch," pursues the narrator, "I fancy heard us, and it seems that he had been put in an ill humor with all who approached the house, by the

influx of sophists ; for when we knocked at the door, he opened it a little way, and seeing us, exclaimed—‘ Oh, more sophists ! He has no leisure to attend to you ;’ and taking the door with both his hands, he flung it to with a hearty good will. We knocked again, and he, keeping the door shut, replied from within—‘ Have you not heard what I told you ? He has no time to attend to you.’ ‘ But,’ said I, ‘ we do not want Callias, and we are not sophists ; do not be alarmed ; we are only come to call upon Protagoras : will you announce us ?’ But even then it was with difficulty that we persuaded him to open the door.

“ When we entered, we found Protagoras walking in the front colonnade (prostoa), and with him were walking, on the one side, Callias, the son of Hippo-nicus, his half brother Paralus, the son of Pericles, and Charmides, the son of Glaucon : on the other side were Xanthippus, the other son of Pericles, Philippides, the son of Philomelus, and Antimærus the Mendian, the most promising of Protagoras’ dis-ciples, who was learning his art in order to become a sophist himself. Behind them walked others who were listening to the conversation ; these, for the most part, appeared to be strangers, who had fol-lowed Protagoras from the towns he passed through, caught by the sweet tone of his voice, as the beasts followed Orpheus : some, too, there were from the neighborhood, who filled up the attending chorus. I was amused to see the admirable order observed by these listeners, and how careful they were never to advance beyond Protagoras ; for as soon as he and his companions turned, they opened on each side in a half circle, to allow him to pass, and then again ranged themselves respectfully behind.

“ I next perceived, as Homer says, Hippias of Elis,

enthroned in the opposite colonnade; and sitting below him upon the steps, Eryximachus, the son of Acumenos, and Phædrus, the Myrrhinusian, and Andron, the son of Androton, and some strangers, fellow-citizens of Hippias, mixed with others. They seemed to be asking Hippias questions in physics and astronomy, and he, from his throne, replied, and explained the things asked. There too I saw Tantalus,\* that is to say, Prodicus of Ceos, who was also lately arrived. He was in a little room which had been formerly used as a storeroom by Hippoicus; but now, on account of the influx of strangers, Callias had emptied it, and given it up to their use. Prodicus was still in bed, smothered in skins and coverlets, as it seemed; and sitting beside him, was Pausanias of Ceramis, and, beside Pausanias, a youth of particularly agreeable countenance, that seemed a great favorite of his. I thought I heard him called Agathon. There were besides, the two Adimanti, the one the son of Cepis, and the other the son of Leucolophides, and some others. I could not hear the subject of their conversation, as I was outside, though I was most eager to hear Prodicus, as he appears to me to be a thoroughly learned and divine-minded man; but his voice being very deep, produced a sort of humming in the room, which hindered me from hearing distinctly what he said. We entered, and soon after us came the handsome Alcibiades, and Critias, the son of Callischros.

“After we had been there a short time, and had contemplated the scene before us, we advanced towards Protagoras, and addressing him, I told him that Hippocrates and I were come to speak with him.

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\* In the original, some passages from Homer's description of the infernal regions are parodied.

‘Do you wish to see me alone, or here among the rest?’ said he. ‘No matter; when I have told you our business, you will yourself judge what is proper.’” Socrates now explains Hippocrates’ wish to become his scholar, and then asks if he thinks proper to speak with him privately or not: to which Protagoras replies, “You have judged right, Socrates, regarding me; for a stranger traveling from one great city to another, and in each of them persuading the youth of the highest rank to quit their friends and connections, and attach themselves to him, only that they may become better by their intercourse with him, has need of caution; for he is sure to encounter no small hatred, as well as other discomforts and enmities. I, however, maintain that the sophist’s art is a very ancient one; but those who first exercised it, fearing the disagreeable consequences, endeavored to hide it under various pretexts and disguises; some veiling it in poetry, as Homer, Hesiod, and Simonides; others giving it the character of initiations and oracles, as Orpheus and Musæus: others have carried it on under the name of gymnastics, as Iccos of Tarentum, and as is still done by a sophist of our day, who yields to none in skill, I mean Herodicos the Selymbrian, whose ancestors were of Megara: your Agathocles too, an excellent sophist, made music his pretext, as did Pythoclides of Ceos, and many others. All these, as I have told you, fearing the envy they might encounter, concealed their profession under the veil of these arts: but I do not approve their plan, for I am of opinion that they did not effect what they intended; since it was quite impossible to conceal themselves from those in possession of authority, on whose account, nevertheless, these disguises were assumed: and as for the many, they, so to speak, know nothing, but raise a

cry only when they are told to do so." He then goes on to claim for himself the merit of frankness in avowing boldly his profession, and offers to hear what they have to say in the presence of the whole party.

"I knew," continues the imaginary narrator, "that his object was to act a good figure before Prodicus and Hippias, by letting them see that we had quite fallen in love with him; I therefore asked if we should not call them and their friends, to be present at the conversation. 'Certainly,' said Protagoras, and Callias inquired whether seats should not be prepared, that all might speak or hear at their ease. We all approved the motion, and set to work to carry chairs and benches to the side where Hippias was; because there were already some seats there. Meantime, Callias and Alcibiades came back, bringing with them Prodicus, whom they had induced to rise, and with him those who had been sitting in his room."

Protagoras, who throughout is made to speak with considerable affectation of eloquence, now addresses himself to the young man, promising him, that under his instruction, he shall every day find that he has made some advance in knowledge. Socrates asks him, what sort of knowledge? Protagoras replies, with great politeness, that it is a very proper question, and that it is pleasant to him to answer such; and adds: "If Hippocrates follows me, he will not be wearied with the things which other sophists would compel him to learn. They, when they take a young man, how much soever he may shun the arts, lead him back to them in spite of himself, teaching him figures, and astronomy, and geometry, and music"—and whilst saying this, he cast a meaning glance on Hippias—"while, if he follows me, he

will learn nothing but what he comes to learn, for my instruction will only have for its object the guidance of his conduct both in public and private affairs."—Farther questions are then put in the mouth of the imaginary narrator, by which the false moral system of the sophists is exposed: upon which, Protagoras is made to close the conversation with a compliment to Socrates on his clever management of the dispute, "which really augured considerable eminence in the art as he grew older," and a polite announcement that he had other business to attend to.

After this spirited sketch of the character of a sophist, little more need be said of Protagoras. His skepticism brought him at last into ill odor at Athens; and the books in which he asserted that there were no certain means of knowing whether there were gods or not, were condemned to be sought out from all those who possessed them, and burnt by the hands of the executioner. He himself was banished from the city, and required never again to set foot on Attic soil.\* If, as some say, the accuser was one of the four hundred, this must have occurred b. c. 412.

DIAGORAS, the Melian, was likewise a pupil of Democritus, but not a sophist. He has been branded by all antiquity with the title of "the atheist," from his daring contempt of the superstition of his times. For this he was tried at Athens, and as he did not appear in order to defend himself, his sentence was engraved on a brass column; by this a talent (about £240) was offered for his head, and two talents to whoever should take him alive, which implies an intention of adding torture to death.† This sentence was passed b. c. 416. The offences proved, appear

\* Diog. Laert., in vit. Protag. Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., Pars II., lib. ii., c. 11.

† Brucker, ib.

to have been, the divulging the secrets of the mysteries; and on some occasion, when fire-wood was wanting, the using a statue of Hercules for that purpose, with the observation, that he would give the god a thirteenth labour, that of cooking the dinner for Diagoras.\* What his real sentiments were, we have no means of judging but from his life, which, like that of his master, Democritus, appears to have been blameless. A writer who was better able to judge of this matter than we can now be, makes that the test of his belief, and it is probably a just one. "It is wonderful to me," says Clement of Alexandria, "how Euhemerus the Agrigentine, and Nicanor the Cyprian, and Diagoras, and Hippon the Melian, and that Cyrenian who came a little after them, Theodorus by name, and many others who led excellent lives, and were only clearer sighted than others as to the errors current regarding the gods, should have been called atheists. If they did not actually know the truth, they at least suspected the error, and kept alive the embers of that true knowledge which afterwards enlightened the earth."—We may reasonably conclude that the persons here referred to, would scarcely have exposed themselves to danger by a public exhibition of their contempt for the popular superstition, unless they had had some feeling of a higher and nobler truth, which they were eager to draw attention to; mere contempt would have smiled at the folly, and lived quietly in the midst of it. The law of Athens was not unknown; it was scarcely passed, ere Anaxagoras, no obscure man, was its victim, and escaped with his life only through the influence of Pericles, then so powerful in the state: it seems, therefore, hardly possible to avoid the conclusion already drawn, that the philosophical party

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\* Clem. Alex. Protrep., c. 2.

was a political one also, the leaders of which were pursuing,—too carelessly, perhaps, as regarded practicability,—an ideal state of perfection; and sacrificing themselves without regret to the promotion of this great object. Their followers, such as Alcibiades, Critias, Theramenes, and others, saw in the doctrines of the philosophical party, the means of advancing themselves,\* and used the self-sacrificing philosophers as their stepping stones to power and place. It may be observed in confirmation of this, that when Alcibiades was banished for his supposed profanation of the mysteries, and mutilation of the statues of Mercury,† his enemies “bellowed, that these arts struck at the very foundations of the democracy;”‡ for the subsistence of the lower classes of citizens was at this time so bound up with the existence of the superstition of the state, that the subverting the one was supposed to be tantamount to the starving the other. As the Peloponnesian war advanced, the impoverishment of the citizens of course kept pace with its progress: and, in consequence, we find the proceedings against all “impiety,” as it was called, were more and more virulent. The contest, although the philosophers were the sufferers, was in fact between the aristocratic party, or that of persons who thought their rank in the state gave them a right to govern it, and the democratic, or that of those who, having the art of exciting the people, sought to bear rule by their means. This state of things is by no means obsolete.

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\* Xenophon expressly affirms this to have been the case. *Memoral.*, lib. i., c. 2.

† They were blocks of stone rudely fashioned, and so little decent in their form, that Philip of Macedon's jest, in which he likened the Athenians to their own statues of Mercury, is too coarse to be here repeated.

‡ Thucyd., lib. vi.

### III.

## PLATO AND THE ACADEMY.

B. C. 389? TO B. C. 80.

THE death of their great master was the signal for the dispersion of all who had been known as the especial disciples of Socrates. Those who came from foreign countries returned to their homes, and those who were natives of Athens sought shelter either with them, or in more distant lands: PLATO, especially, betook himself to foreign travel as most preceding philosophers had done. After staying for a time with Euclides, at Megara, he proceeded to study geometry under Theodorus, at Cyrene: he then visited Egypt to learn astronomy, and from thence passed into Italy, where he sought to make himself acquainted with all that had been taught in the schools of Pythagoras.\* He was preparing likewise to visit India, but was deterred by the wars then carrying on in Asia. From Italy he crossed over into Sicily,† to view Mount *Ætna*, and there became acquainted with Dionysius the elder, the tyrant of Syracuse, by the intervention of Dion, whose sister this latter had married.

This young noble had eagerly sought the conversation of Plato, and believed, with all the ingenuousness of youth, that the tyrant would listen to the precepts of the philosopher; but when the pupil of

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\* See Brucker's Hist. Crit. Phil., Pars ii. lib. ii. c. 4.

† Plutarch in vit. Dionis.

Socrates began to explain the charms of virtue, and like Paul, to reason of righteousness, temperance, and it may be, also, of a judgment to come,—for even this seems to have formed a part of the Socratean doctrine,—Dionysius could bear it no longer,—asked him what business he had in Sicily;—and not only dismissed him rudely from his presence, but bribed the master of the vessel in which the philosopher hastened to depart, either to put him to death on the passage, or to sell him for a slave. The seaman complied with the latter part of the behest, by carrying him to *Ægina*, the inhabitants of which were then at variance with Athens, and enslaved any of her citizens who fell into their hands. He was, however, immediately redeemed by Anniceris, a philosopher of the Cyrenaic sect, who set him at liberty, and refused all repayment of the sum thus expended.

It is not very clear whether Plato had returned to Athens until now, for the course of study and of travels above mentioned, might very well have consumed twelve years, the period which had elapsed since the death of Socrates. Be that as it may, it is certain that he now, if not before, bought a small property; lying without the walls on the northwest, in the part called Cerameicus. This, though a low and unhealthy spot, he planted and beautified, and from the appellation of the neighboring Gymnasium,—the Academy,—the school of philosophy which he established here was usually called the Academic. Here, with the exception of two voyages to Sicily made at the request of the younger Dionysius, he passed the remainder of his life, which closed peaceably at the age of eighty-one.

Plato's works are, or may be in the hands of every

one;\* it is, therefore, not necessary to enter at so great length into his doctrines as from the influence they long had, and perhaps still have in the world, would otherwise have been requisite. One thing must be premised, to prevent his works from being misunderstood by those who may take them up for their own information. Socrates is made to take a large part in these most interesting dialogues, and with such consummate skill is the scene laid, and the actors introduced, that few would suspect that the great teacher of the Academy was only using the name of his old master as a convenient cloak for his own opinions. Doubtful how far the Athenian people might brook his doctrines, and mindful of the fate of Anaxagoras, of Diagoras, of Prodicus,† and of Socrates, he probably thought it expedient to appear to be merely reporting what he had heard. Socrates, justly or not, had paid the penalty of his imagined crime;—were Plato accused, he had but to say, “I am justifying your decree, for here are some of the heterodox opinions of my former master.” A small attention to chronology will make this apparent. The dialogue entitled *Protagoras*, so full of graphic detail, which has been already noticed, lays the scene at a period when the sons of Pericles were yet living. They died in the great plague 430 B. C., when Plato himself was not born. It is quite impossible that any interlocutor could have reported a conversation held thirty years before, with exactitude enough to enable him to give question and answer with such precision:—at best he must have worked up a

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\* A very elegant French translation, lately published by M. Cousin, places these most delightful writings within the reach even of those who cannot read the original.

† Prodicus is said to have been put to death in the same manner as Socrates. V. Suidas.

general sketch by the aid of his own lively imagination ; but it is more likely that he only made use of this mode of writing, by way of combating the known doctrines of Protagoras, and ridiculing generally the whole race of sophists. Another anachronism may be found in the *Menexenus*. Here Socrates is made to repeat a funeral oration which he professes to have heard from Aspasia ; but this oration refers to circumstances which occurred fourteen years after the death of that philosopher. Probably the true state of the case was well known to Plato's contemporaries, and these anachronisms gave them no concern, because they knew that the names of the interlocutors were only used as a vehicle for conveying the philosophy of the Academy. It would not have been needful to say thus much, had not the notion been very general that we were to look for the doctrines of Socrates in the writings of Plato.

Even the doctrines of Plato himself are not always to be found clearly set forth in his writings, for he seems to have had less of physical courage than his great master, and he has been at considerable pains in those writings which were to be made public, to veil his own opinions under the name of one or other of his interlocutors ; and where he is himself the speaker, as in his "*Laws*," he is exceedingly cautious when he begins to speak on the matter of religion ; requiring the festivals of the Gods to be duly observed, although in his "*Euthyphron*," under the name of Socrates, he had derided the superstitions of the age without mercy. The disguise was but a flimsy one ; nevertheless, and he probably owed his safety more to the crestfallen state of the democratic power, than to his own caution ; since a public informer on one occasion is said to have hinted to

him that there was still some of Socrates' hemlock left in the cup.\*

The ridicule cast upon Plato by the comic poets for his gravity, his doctrine of the existence of a soul in man, that would exist after the dissolution of the body, and other Socratic habits and opinions, are among the best proofs that he was a faithful imitator of that excellent man; and refute sufficiently the charges brought against his morals by others, grounded chiefly on some poetry said to be his; but which, if written by him at all, were apparently a part of the early performances which, after hearing Socrates for the first time, he solemnly devoted to the god of fire. His gentleness towards those about him, his temperance, his courage when he believed there was any special duty to be fulfilled, are the best comments on his opinions.

If we may assume the words put in the mouth of the Pythagorean Timæus, to be those of Plato himself, the following is his notion of the origin of the universe. The first thing to be determined, he says, is, what that is which is eternal, and therefore self-existent?—We take cognizance of this by our reason, and we know that it must be unchangeable: by our senses we are made aware of another something which is constantly changing; being born, destroyed, and reproduced: but since what has a beginning must have a cause, this has therefore no existence proper to itself. Thus the material universe must be produced by the Eternal Cause and Father of all things, who is good, intelligent, and almighty; but difficult to be sought out by the wisest even,—incomprehensible to the vulgar. This eternal Father has fashioned the world after a pattern in his

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. iii. § 24.

own thoughts, and considering that nothing is perfectly good without a soul, he has made the universe a living being, having material parts, animated by a divine spirit. All this is still only a refinement on the Orphic doctrine, which, in fact, was but the truth disguised ; and as Pythagoras seems to have again made this truth clear to his disciples, it is easily conceivable that Plato, in studying the Pythagorean opinions, found them on the whole satisfactory, and only improved upon them a little for his own school.

In morals he seems to have trod very closely in the steps of his master Socrates, teaching that temperance, justice, submission to the laws, and perfect purity of life, were requisite to form a wise man, and that none but a good man could be a happy one. He appears to have made an effort to spiritualize and purify the passionate love of beauty which prevailed among the Greeks, and thus to reform the general licentiousness of manners: for, according to him, beauty is but the reflection, in the features, of the beautiful soul within: it is to be preserved only by virtuous dispositions, and those who love to contemplate it, should cherish it by cultivating in the object they admire those perfections, which, as life advances, may form the foundation of a lasting friendship. He considered the soul as independent of the body, and held it to be a part of the Divine Spirit which the Creator had enwrapped in matter; its beatification, probably, for that is not quite so clear, he considered to be a re-absorption into the Deity; though in some places, particularly in his *Phædon*, he makes Socrates speak of the happiness of meeting with glorified and happy spirits in another state of being. The proofs, however, which he endeavors to give of the immortality of the soul are weak, so weak that Cicero,

though wishing to believe the doctrine, makes his auditor declare that he found them unsatisfactory.\*

In physics, Plato appears to have embraced the atomic theory of the Pythagorean school; and, late in life, their astronomical views also. Some passages in his *Timæus* would lead us almost to imagine that the Pythagorean doctrine trod close on the heels of modern science. A natural philosopher of our own age could scarcely have been more explicit than Plato, in assuring us that the action of magnetism and electricity, as shown in the loadstone, and amber when excited by friction, was not owing to any peculiar attraction in those substances, but to the movements communicated through contiguous particles under peculiar circumstances. His theory of the nourishment of the body by the affinity of certain particles for each other, and their consequent assimilation, is also in great measure that of modern chemistry; and like modern chemists too he separates the immortal soul from the life of the body. He considers man to be gifted with three souls, i. e., the undying one which survives the body, and is peculiar to man; the mental one which we term the faculties, of which beasts partake in a certain degree; and the purely mortal, which consists in the organic life, which is shared alike by plants and animals.

In politics—for there is no subject which the capacious mind of Plato did not embrace—his views are peculiar and full of interest. He had looked with the eye of a wise and good man on the disorders of the state, and the consequent oppression of the people in his days; and in his “*Republic*,” and his “*Laws*,” he seems to have been endeavoring to discover and point out a remedy. And here

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\* Cic., *Tusc. Quest.*, lib. i., c. 11.

we are at once struck with the inefficiency of all the means which the superstition of those days afforded towards the reform of society. Aware that nothing but national virtue could insure national prosperity, he proposes to eradicate vices by destroying the individual will of the citizen. The Spartans had shown that this was no impossible plan, for the laws of Lycurgus had in great measure effected it during some centuries. Plato proposes to make his citizens merely portions of the body politic: no one was to have liberty to regulate his own life; every hour was to have its employ regulated by law; no possibility of increase of property, no domestic relations were to insulate the citizen from the state: but in this imaginary state of his he forgets what it is which endears his country to man; for it is not an abstract term that can be loved. Even in Lacedæmon natural affection was not wholly trampled on; the mother of the Spartan was his counselor and his guide: the "Return with this, or on it," of the matron arming her son for the battle, when she handed him his shield, is well known: when the unfortunate Agis perished in the endeavor to restore the laws of Lycurgus, his mother and his grandmother shared, and aided in his designs, and fell with him; and generally the women of Laconia played a very different part in society from the rest of their sex in the Grecian states. Probably his increasing respect for the Spartan lawgiver induced him, in his "Laws," to abandon that part of the views advocated in the "Republic," which relates to women, for he here proposes to train them, as in Sparta, to martial exercise, and to give them a share in the affairs of the government, as the means of rendering them virtuous and useful, as well as capable, on a last emergency, of defending themselves and their children

from an invading foe. He proscribes all commerce, as a source of vice ; and would insulate the state as far as possible from all others, in order to avoid the danger of contamination ; and,—whether to avoid prosecution, or upon the conviction of his own mind, is not certain,—he determines that the views of the philosophic few must not be spread among the multitude, who are still to have their tutelary deities. In this he appears to have varied somewhat from his master Socrates, who conversed with persons of all classes, and endeavored to spread his opinions among the tradesmen and peasants of Attica, no less than among the noble and the rich.

In regard to what is technically called ontology, or the science of what exists ;—he considered ideas as a kind of emanation from objects, which thus became matters of sense to us: we having no means of examining the object itself, but only the idea which is impressed on the sensorium : but as these are views which are of little import to matters of common life, it would be foreign to the purpose of this work to enter further into them.

The school of Plato, or as it is more generally termed, of the Academy, was carried on after his death by his nephew Speusippus, a man much inferior to his uncle both in talent and conduct ;\* and after him by Xenocrates, whose slow parts had made Plato call him his donkey ; but whose unspotted virtue threw into his teaching a persuasive force which was better than brilliancy. There is a pleasing anecdote recorded of this, which, though often repeated, should not be omitted here. One morning —for the school of Xenocrates was open early—whilst the philosopher was lecturing, Polemon, a

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\* Diog. Laert., in vit. Speusipp.

young and gay Athenian, crowned with roses and his robes disordered, was reeling home from a supper party;—he saw the door open, and entered. Of course such a visitor drew all eyes, and Xenocrates, changing his subject, turned his discourse to the beauty of virtue, and the degrading consequences of intemperance. Polemon, who probably came to scoff, remained to listen: gradually his heart was moved;—he stole his hand to his head and removed the garland; presently he composed his robe to a more decent fashion; and by the time the philosopher had finished his lecture, he left the place sobered for ever.\* From that time he emulated Xenocrates in temperance and virtue, and after his death succeeded to his chair in the Academy. One more anecdote of Plato's donkey ere we leave him to the esteem and affection of the good. When called upon to give evidence in some trial, the oath was tendered to him as usual; but the people with one accord exclaimed that it was an insult to tender an oath to him who knew not what untruth was: Xenocrates should not be sworn, for his affirmation was of more worth than the oath of any other man.† To this may be added that, when forming one of a deputation to Philip of Macedon, that monarch declared that Xenocrates was the only one whom he had found inaccessible to a bribe.‡ Whilst the Academy was supported by such teachers, can we wonder at its fame?

The doctrines of Plato remained nearly unaltered in the hands of his immediate successors, but under ARCESILAUS, the friend of CRANTOR, which latter occupied the chair after Polemon, a change was

\* Val. Max., vi. 9. Diog. Laert., lib. iv., § 16.

† Ib., § 7.

‡ Ib., § 8.

introduced, and the saying of Socrates that his whole wisdom consisted in knowing that he knew nothing, was enlarged into a maxim of the school. The skeptic philosophy of Pyrrhon, who doubted of all things,\* was then gaining celebrity, and the Academy under Arcesilaus seems to have approximated to this sect so far as to deny that man's reason is capable of attaining to complete certainty on any point. The character of Arcesilaus himself probably tended to this change, for far from following the example of his great predecessors, this philosopher disgraced his great talents by a licentious life, and the notion that right and wrong might be a matter of doubt, was a convenient tenet for such a man. He died of a frenzy caused by excessive intoxication, at the age of seventy-five;† and was succeeded by LACYDES, who following in his steps, died of a stroke of palsy from the same cause.‡

CARNEADES made a yet farther innovation on the doctrines of Plato; and held that all truth had a certain degree of error attached to it so intimately, and resembling it so closely, that there was no certain method for deciding between them; on which account a full assent to any opinion should be withheld. Cicero, who appears to have admired the writings of Carneades, and the doctrines of the Academy as taught by him, and afterwards by Antiochus, tells us that the object of this suspension of judgment was, to elicit the truth by calm discussion; to show, e. g., not that the gods did not exist, but that the

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\* This philosopher was so serious in his doubts of the reality of things, that he never turned aside to avoid any obstacle, be it what it might, and was only saved from danger by his more sane friends, who, knowing his fancy, were wont to follow him in his walks. Diog. Laert., lib. ix. § 62.

† Diog. Laert., lib. iv. § 44.

‡ Ib., § 61.

stoics had not proved that they did: \* a system which Cicero follows up himself in his philosophical treatises where he gives the tenets of the different schools, and points out the weak parts in their arguments with much impartiality. In morals Carneades taught that the ultimate end of existence was "to enjoy natural principles," † a phrase so obscure that it makes any further discussion of his doctrine on this head quite hopeless. He was a man of acute perceptions, and a clever lecturer and disputant; ‡ but Greek Philosophy was no longer what it had been in the hands of its earlier teachers. It was now mixed up with the arts of the sophists, and had lost the earnestness and reality given to it by men who look to great objects, and who, instead of aiming merely at a reputation for cleverness, sought to confer a lasting benefit on mankind.

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\* Cic. de Nat. Deor., l. i. c. 2.

† Frui principiis naturalibus. Cic. de Fin., l. ii. c. 11.

‡ Diog. Laert. in vit. Carn.

## IV.

### THE CYRENAIC AND CYNIC SECTS.

Two other schools of philosophy, if they may so be called, arose after the death of Socrates: the Cyrenaic and the Cynic. At the head of the first was Aristippus, a hearer, but hardly to be called a disciple of the martyred sage. He was a man of luxurious habits,\* and taught that sensual pleasure was the great object of life: but human nature loves not degradation, and this part of his system scarcely outlived him, but gave way to the tenet, that comfort was the great object of existence, and that, therefore, when life was become a source of uneasiness, it was well to quit it. Perhaps this alteration in the Cyrenaic doctrine may have been owing to Arete, the daughter of Aristippus, who became a philosophical teacher, and was the instructor of her son, distinguished from his grandfather of the same name by the *sobriquet* of  $\mu\eta\tau\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\tau\sigma\varsigma$ ,—mother-taught. As the Cyrenaic school soon sunk into obscurity, or rather was merged in the more flourishing one of Epicurus, it will not be needful to give a longer notice of it here.

The Cynic sect, so called from the Cynosargos, a gymnasium where its first professors used to teach, was founded by Antisthenes, a devoted disciple of Socrates, who was wont every day to walk from Peiræus, where he resided, in order to listen to that excellent man's lessons of wisdom. After the death

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\* See Xenoph. Mem., l. ii. c. 1. Diog. Laert. in vit. Aristippi.

of his admired master, Antisthenes betook himself to a life of extraordinary and ostentatious austerity; and setting at nought the ordinary comforts of life, devoted himself wholly to the reproof of vice and luxury, in one of the most vicious and luxurious cities of antiquity. Among other of his severe taunts, it is recorded that some young men from Pontus, having come to Athens, attracted by the fame of Socrates, just when that philosopher had suffered death; he assured them he would show them a wiser man than him whom they sought, and led them to Anytus the prosecutor, who was forced to take to flight before the indignation thus excited against him.\*

DIogenes of Sinope—whose name has become famous, and almost infamous, from a variety of lying tales, readily enough devised and repeated by those who wished to crush the daring of the philosophic party, or dreaded the stern morality it taught—was the scholar of Antisthenes, and so determined to be so, that when this latter, not wishing for pupils, treated him with harshness, and even threatened him with his staff, he replied, that “he would find no staff hard enough to drive him away;” and the stern Cynic was moved at last to receive him. Every one has heard of the tub of Diogenes, of his reply to Alexander, and of that monarch’s observation in consequence; yet it appears probable that these are all fables of the same cast with the impurities attributed to the Cynics, whose extreme severity of life, joined to their contempt of all sensuality, gives the lie to the slander.† Diogenes is recorded to have been taken by pirates during a voyage, and sold in

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. vi. § 10.

† For a farther examination into the chronological discrepancies which refute these tales, see Brucker’s Hist. Crit. Phil., *De Secta Cynica*.

the slave market in Crete, where he was bought by Xeniades, a Corinthian, who, when he had taken him home, finding him to be no ordinary man, set him free, and employed him as tutor to his children; in which capacity Diogenes acquitted himself so conscientiously, that Xeniades is said to have blessed the day that brought such a friend into his house.

Among the scholars of Diogenes, CRATES, a Theban, was the most famous: a man so highly respected, that he was the general composer of differences throughout Athens.\* Of him, too, and his wife Hipparchia, many tales have been told, which are refuted by the general character of the man: they originated probably in the same causes which had subjected every one to slander whose life and doctrines ran counter to the general licentiousness, and who did not join in the prevailing superstition. Libertines hated the stern censor of vice;—the people dreaded the loss of the sacrifices and the Dionysia.

The Cynic sect appears rather to have instituted an especial mode of life, than a philosophical system; it was in fact, the mendicant order of philosophy; and, like the mendicant orders of the Christian church, and all other ascetics who require a severity of life which nature opposes, after the first enthusiasm was over, its professors degenerated, till in later times they became justly infamous. Crates was the master of Zeno of Cittium, the founder of the Stoics.

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\* Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., Pars II. lib. II. c. 8.

## V.

### ARISTOTELES AND THE PERIPATETICS.

B. C. 335 TO — ?

AMONG the pupils of Plato, about the same time that Xenocrates was learning to grace his slow parts with the higher beauty of moral virtue, another young man was seen, whose disposition and appearance were the reverse of the other in all but that last, best ornament of man, the love of virtue. ARISTOTELES, the son of a physician of Stagira, a small town on the borders of Macedon, but then an orphan, and the inheritor of a large fortune,—at seventeen years of age entered the Academy. His talents soon attracted the notice of his discerning master, who, having jestingly compared the slow mental pace of Xenocrates to that of an ass, always needing the spur; now likened the acuteness of Aristoteles to the headlong speed of a horse, which requires a bridle to prevent him from running away.\* He was of slight form and weak constitution, and was noted by his contemporaries for a more than ordinary attention to dress and ornament: but none of these things were any hindrance to his eager pursuit of science, which ceased not but with his life. During twenty years he was the pupil and friend of Plato, who was wont to call him “the mind of the Academy,” and if he was not present, would exclaim, that “the audience was deaf, for the intellect was absent.”†

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. iv. § 6.

† Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., Pars ii. lib. ii. c. 7.

The connection of the young student's father, Nicomachus, with the court of Macedon, as physician to the king, probably led to the notice bestowed upon him by Philip, who, on the birth of his son Alexander, is said to have written to Aristoteles, informing him of the fact; and adding, "we thank the gods for their gift, but especially for bestowing it at the time when Aristoteles lives; assuring ourselves, that educated by you he will be worthy of us, and worthy of inheriting our kingdom."\* It does not, however, appear that this letter, if indeed it be genuine, drew him away from Athens; for he did not commence his duties as preceptor until fourteen years after.

When Speusippus succeeded to the chair of the Academy, after the death of his uncle Plato, Aristoteles quitted Athens; disgusted, probably, at seeing the place of his admired master very inadequately filled. One of his fellow-pupils and friends had been Hermeias, a eunuch, and once a slave; but now raised to the sovereignty of Assus and Atarneus, two Greek cities of Mysia. In the latter of these cities Aristoteles had passed some part of his youth, in the family of Proxenus, a citizen of that place; and as we find Nicanor the son of Proxenus afterwards adopted by him, and made the heir of his property, so it is likely that motives of gratitude as well as friendship led him thither. The seizure and execution of Hermeias by the officers of Artaxerxes, made Aristoteles think it needful to provide for his own safety: he fled to Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos; taking with him Pythias, the kinswoman of Hermeias, whom he there married. He passed two years in Lesbos, and here his wife died, leaving him an infant daughter. It was her dying wish that her bones might be placed

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\* Aulus Gellius, cited by Gillies.

beside those of her husband in the grave, and at his death, her request was scrupulously fulfilled.

The wish of the Macedonian monarch that Aristoteles should undertake the education of his son, was probably now reiterated; for, shortly after, he journeyed to the court of Philip, and became the honored preceptor of the young Alexander. During eight years he executed the office with a care and success which made his pupil the wonder of his own, and after ages: and, on the accession of that prince to the throne, he once more returned to Athens; where, finding Xenocrates in possession of the Academy, he opened a school of philosophy in a gymnasium near the temple of the Lycian Apollo in the suburbs, and thence called the Lyceum; and here, during thirteen years, he continued to teach his exact and profound philosophy. Whilst Alexander lived, his preceptor was respected; but no sooner had death closed the career of that great monarch, than the kind of accusations formerly made against Socrates, were renewed against Aristoteles: the doctrines of his school were too pure for the prevailing corruption, and a prosecution was commenced against him; which, however, he avoided by removing to Chalcis in Eubœa, saying that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a second opportunity of sinning against philosophy. He did not long survive his voluntary banishment, and died at Chalcis, in his sixty-third year, about a year after.\*

The followers of Aristoteles were termed Peripatetics; either, as some say, from his habit of conveying his lessons to his royal pupil in conversation while walking; or because his lectures in the Lyceum

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\* For a more detailed account of this philosopher, see his life, prefixed to Dr. Gillies' translation of his *Ethics* and *Politics*.

were so delivered. His writings have come down to us in a very imperfect state; for after having passed into the hands of his scholar Theophrastus, with the rest of his library, they were left by that philosopher in turn to his own pupil Neleus, who, carrying the whole with him to Scepsis, a town of Troas, left this most valuable collection to his heirs, with his other property. These, being unlettered men, knew not the value of this bequest, but hearing that the King of Pergamus was collecting a library, and fearing that they should be robbed of their books, they concealed them in a dark vault, where they remained undiscovered for many generations; till at last they were sold for a large sum to Appellicon of Athens, whose library was seized and transmitted to Rome by Sylla, when that city fell into his hands. At Rome, in the days of Cicero, the writings of Aristoteles could be appreciated; and Andronicus of Rhodes, a philosopher then residing there, undertook the task of editing them in the best manner which their mutilated state permitted: \* for it appears that it was only a *copy* of the original which Sylla had possessed himself of. Probably the original had been too far decayed when it came into the hands of Appellicon, to invite its preservation; for Strabo observes that he was a book collector merely, not a philosopher.

The writings of Aristoteles appear originally to have embraced the whole round of human knowledge in those days, but neither the military power of Rome nor the sway of the emperors was favorable to the progress of philosophy, and Christianity soon raised itself on the ruins of all three; and, when, after the period of harassing warfare and barbarian invasion

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\* Plutarch, in vit. Syllæ.

had passed away, his works were re-discovered in later times; his logic won the most attention. In this he reduced argument to a regular form; and though we may now doubt if this form be so widely applicable as was at first supposed, no one can deny its excellence as a mental exercise; for nothing better shows the absurdity of a false argument than a syllogism;\* and though upwards of two thousand years have elapsed since their death, we have not yet found a better guide in the art of reasoning than Aristoteles, or in mathematics than Euclides:—no small praise to the old philosophers of Greece.

Like Cicero in after times, he addressed his chief work on moral duties to his son Nicomachus, the fruit of a second marriage, who seems to have been a child when his father died. Like the great Roman moralist, too, his precepts, being founded on the immutable law of God, written in man's heart from the beginning, have a striking resemblance, or rather, are in many cases identical with those of Christianity. The following rule for judging of our proficiency in virtue is such as Christ himself might have spoken. "The sign of our habitual state of mind," says he, "is the pleasure or pain which we have in our actions: he who withdraws from corporeal pleasures with a feeling of satisfaction in so doing, is really and

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\* A syllogism is the result of an argument, condensed into two propositions, called the major and the minor, and the conclusion resulting from them. As "God is self-existent, but what is self-existent must be one, therefore God is one." Here we have the last result of a long series of argument, brought before us in a brief and tangible form, and if either the one proposition or the other can be impugned, it vitiates the conclusion. An argument, therefore, may be reduced to a series of syllogisms; for every fresh step made, admits of being reduced to this form. Those who wish to know more of the abstruser works of Aristoteles, will find an able analysis of them in Dr. Gillies' work already referred to.

wisely temperate; he who does so, but grieves at it, is still a voluptuary at heart.”\* It would be impossible in this small work to quote abundance of passages which breathe no less admirable sentiments: it will be easier to point out the very few points where the heathen falls behind the Christian moralist. With regard to the immortality of the soul he seems to have entertained less clear notions than Plato even, and was far behind Socrates: his idea of liberality is of habits bordering on ostentation; and his estimate of slaves, whom he calls merely “living tools,” and of women, whom he places not many degrees beyond them, is far, far indeed below that of the Apostle who proclaims that before God “there is neither male nor female, bond nor free.” Yet we can hardly blame the heathen, without throwing a quadruple load on the shoulders of the so-called Christian of modern times, who, with all the light of that Gospel which eighteen hundred years ago preached peace and good-will to the whole human race, has still left many a pariah caste, uncared for by the laws, or marked only by their stinging severity.

In his *Politics*, Aristoteles is far more practical than Plato, whose notions on government he criticises with much good sense. But his own views are not unobjectionable; and the faults in his *Ethics*, already mentioned, show themselves with double force when the abstract notion takes form and likelihood in the regulation of a state. Acknowledging that the slave population formed the weak point in every country that he was acquainted with; acknowledging that for the most part they were the natural enemies of their lords; he does not seem to have been able to discover that such a system must

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\* Aristot. Eth. ad Nichom., lib. ii. c. 2.

be radically bad. On the contrary, imputing the faults of slaves to their kind of employment, he forbids his citizens to undertake any industrial labors; thus perpetuating, as far as in him lay, a system of idle tyrants, supported by the industry of numerous enemies, kept within the bounds of obedience only by severity. Yet his clear and argumentative mind saw the contradictions in reasoning which his own system involved, and he states them fairly. "If," he says, "a slave be capable of any virtues, wherein does he differ from a free man? If we say he is not, and yet allow him to be a man, and consequently endued with reason, the conclusion seems absurd. The same difficulty occurs with regard to women and children: and yet how can one party be formed to obey and the other to rule, if both are by nature capable of the same virtues?"\* Yet though seeing the absurdity, prejudice prevailed over reason, even in his powerful mind, and he concludes at last, that slaves, women, and children, are incapable of the virtues, which, in their capacity of man, generically, he had already acknowledged to form part of their very nature. A weakness hardly to have been expected from the inventor of the syllogism.

In his natural philosophy he falls behind some of the older philosophers of Greece, and argues against their opinions in a way that was scarcely to be expected from a man of his acute perceptions: but he seems to have bewildered himself in his own logic, which, though it detects the fallacies of an argument when there are right premises to go upon, does not suffice if these are wanting. Thus, he conceives that he refutes Thales' opinion, that "the earth floats in the air as a piece of wood does in the water,"—

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\* *Polit.*, lib. i. c. 8.

by saying, that “the earth is specifically heavier than the air, and, therefore, it cannot so float:”\* and he endeavors to overthrow the opinion of Pythagoras, that the centre is occupied by a globe of fire, round which the planets move; by showing that the power of gravitation acts in angles which meet in the centre of the earth, and this he takes as a proof that the earth is the centre of all things.† He comments severely on the atomic system of the Ionian and Italian schools, insisting that everything, even if not actually so divided, is capable of division ad infinitum; and in every one of the above cases he brings forward a show of close argument, vitiated only by his ignorance of first principles, which, whilst devoting his attention to the forms of reasoning, he seems to have overlooked. In this respect he must yield to Democritus, who, after a life devoted to experimental philosophy, found out that his chief science consisted in knowing that he had not yet reached, nor could hope to reach **THE TRUTH.**

On the subject of the soul he confesses himself to be at a loss; yet on this point his reasoning is in many parts just. Probably on points where human reason can never arrive at perfect certainty, he who sets off by seeking an approximation only, by rejecting error after error as it fails to bear the test of rational inquiry, will approach nearer to it than he who sets off with the notion that he can reach at once the whole depth and height of knowledge; a position which no human intellect ever yet attained. It is to the scarcely embodied conceptions of some great mind, expressed in the modest language of doubt, that the next age commonly owes its discoveries, experimented upon and proved by men much

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\* *De Cœlo*, lib. ii. c. 13.

† *Ib.*, c. 14.

inferior to him who but dimly saw the form of truth in the distance, and pointed to the glorious vision. Thus it is that Anaxagoras, who only directed men's eyes towards the right point, was nearer to the truth, in many instances, than Aristoteles, who submitted the sublime conceptions of his predecessor to what he conceived to be logical and mathematical demonstration; forgetting that he himself had not sufficient facts to ground his arguments upon. He has, however, rightly exposed the error of those who conceived the soul to be the cause of motion; for this, he says, is common to the lowest grades of animals as well as the highest, and it would be a daring stretch of imagination which would give a soul to an oyster: he has rightly shown that in plants even, there is vegetative life, and concludes, therefore, that the human soul must be something apart from this vegetative and sensitive life: but the defective state of anatomical science here stopped him short, and in his farther progress he argues on false premises. Finally, having come to the conclusion, that the soul is as distinct from the body as the sight is from the pupil of the eye\*—an immeasurable distinction *then*, when the properties of the nerves were not known—he leaves the great question, which is the first and the last with every thinking man, unanswered. Whether the soul is, or is not immortal, was felt, not argued by the elder sages; and their feelings led them right, even when their reasonings carried no weight.

It would be vain to attempt to follow the extensive researches of the great Stagirite in the compass of a few pages. Those who are able to read his works will find their labor well rewarded; those who are

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\* *De Anim.*, lib. ii. c. 1.

not, will at least here learn to give due honor to one of those master minds that are sent into the world from time to time, to influence the destiny of their fellow men.

## VI.

### ZENO AND THE STOICS.

B. C. 310? TO —?

ZENO, whose name has long been famous as the founder of the Stoic sect of philosophy, was the son of a rich merchant of Cittium, a Phœnician colony in the island of Cyprus. He is said to have devoted his attention to the Socratean doctrines very early; but his future fame as the head of a sect was probably the result of an accident. He put to sea with a cargo for Athens, and either landed, or was shipwrecked off Peiræus. On going into the town he entered a bookseller's shop, and taking up the second book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, after a short time he was so struck with it, that he asked the bookseller where such men were to be found now? At that moment, Crates the Cynic was passing, and the man pointed to him, and bade the stranger ask him, if he wished to know. Zeno took the bookseller's hint, and became a disciple of Crates: but there was something so revolting in the utter contempt for all the lesser decencies of life which formed a part of the Cynic's doctrine, that he never could entirely reconcile himself to their discipline; and Crates having taken rough measures to cure him of his squeamishness,\* his scholar forsook him in disgust, and

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\* He gave him an earthen pot of boiled lentils to carry through the Cerameicus: which was like sending a gentleman in our own days, on such an errand, past the club houses in Pall Mall and St. James' Street. Zeno strove to hide the pan under his

became a pupil of Stilpo the Megarian, who was either a disciple of Euclides, the assiduous hearer of Socrates, or at least belonged to that school. Stilpo, like most of those who had imbibed the Socratean doctrines, despised the polytheism and idolatry of the age, and one day unguardedly expressed his opinion that the *statue* of Minerva was not a god : for this he was cited before the Areopagus, and though he defended himself in the only way that such a charge could be met, by saying that he had spoken truly, for according to their own showing it was not a *god* but a *goddess*, he could not escape banishment from Athens for his irreverence. It was probably in consequence of his leaving the place, that Zeno, after having remained ten years in his school,\* sought a new master in the Academy, where Polemon then presided.

Having thus prepared himself by studying under all the most famous masters for many years, he at length undertook to found a new sect himself ; and as all the usual places of philosophical resort were already occupied, he took possession of the party-colored colonnade or Stoa, so termed from the paintings which decorated its walls. From this place of meeting his followers were called Stoics. Here he taught what he wished to be considered as a new system ; yet as his predecessors had, in most things, approached very near the truth, there was not much room for novelty, and Cicero expressly asserts that Zeno was rather an inventor of new terms, than a discoverer of new things ;† and professes himself

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robe ; which Crates seeing, broke it with his stick ; so that the pottage ran down the legs of his mortified scholar. Diog. Laert., lib. vii. § 3.

\* Diog. Laert., lib. vii. § 2.

† Cic. de Fin., lib. iii. c. 2.

unable to find any good reason why he should have dissented from the early masters of the Academy.\*

In his life, this philosopher was self-denying† and unostentatious; and the severe observations which have been made upon this sect were probably more deserved by his successors than himself. It is a fault of judgment when we impute to any man opinions which do not square with his life; for it is much more possible that he may express himself ill, or that we may misunderstand him, than that what is truly believed should not influence the conduct. If, therefore, we can draw immoral or false consequences from a doctrine, which are not discoverable in the life of the first promulgator, it is quite clear that *he* did not perceive those consequences; and we may question his logic, but not his intention. "By their fruits ye shall know them," was the rule of ONE who assuredly knew human nature well. Whatever, then, were the contradictions and false consequences in the doctrines of Zeno, it is most probable that his own mind was influenced by the sublimer part of them; and that he had overlooked those discrepancies which were so much animadverted on by his opponents. Few of the philosophers of antiquity had the excellent judgment of Socrates, who, measuring justly in his own capacious mind the defective state of the natural sciences in his age, at once abandoned the study as affording no chance of arriving at the truth,—professed that his knowledge consisted in knowing his own ignorance, and enforced nothing but what, thanks to the very con-

\* Cic. de Fin., lib. iv. c. 2.

† It became a proverbial expression to describe a man of singularly correct and abstemious life, to say that he was "more temperate than Zeno the philosopher." Diog. Laert., lib. vii. § 27.

stitution of nature,—must be discovered by every deep thinker: *i. e.*, the existence of a First Cause, and the duties and hopes resulting from this one piece of true science. Had Zeno stopped here, his teaching would have been more useful, and not open to animadversion; but he lost himself in the mazes of natural philosophy, whilst endeavoring to tell more than he knew. In the first steps of his system there is a wonderful resemblance to the Hebrew doctrine, which some of the early Christian Fathers assert Plato to have borrowed from Moses,\* and which Zeno appears to have taken from Plato; for he evidently was unable to reason logically upon it himself.

According to Zeno, then, “There is One God, Mind, Fate, or Jove, known also by other names. This God in the beginning, being alone and self-existing, changed the substance of the air into water, and as the living seed is contained in the *fœtus*, so he, being the life-giving and efficient reason (*λόγος*) of the world, placed his Spirit in the waters to be the cause of the generation of all things; and thus were created the four elements, out of which all things were made, and into which they will again be resolved.”† We next find him arguing, that the world, or universe, is itself the only Deity, upon the following very insufficient and illogical grounds. “Whatever is possessed of reason is better than what is not possessed of reason:—there is nothing better than the world, therefore the world is possessed of reason. In the same manner it may be proved that the world is wise, and eternal; for what is possessed of these qualities is better than what is

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\* See Clem. Alex. Strom. *passim*.

† Diog. Laert., lib. vii. § 136.

not possessed of them ;—but there is nothing better than the world, hence it is clear that the world is God.”\* The man who was unable to discern such palpable contradictions as the above in his own tenets, must have been strangely wanting in logical precision : and accordingly we find the same illogical conclusions, mixed with noble thoughts occasionally, throughout the Stoical system. In some parts the Orphic doctrine is revived in its worst form, as when it is asserted that God, being in all things, these things may be venerated and worshiped as gods,† and thus such deifications as fortune, honor, fear, &c., may be allowed ; nay, even vices may be thus worshiped, as effecting some good purpose in the world.

It is not easy to follow arguments so utterly inconsequential as those of the Stoic philosophy : it may, therefore, suffice to say, that the stars, sun, moon, &c., are held to be self-moved deities : that Providence is only a term to express the rational foresight of these revolving beings, and that to talk of any existing Providence, exterior to them, would be like supposing the Athenian state to have a government when the people were taken away :‡ that the universe is God :§ and then, in defiance of all consistency, we find : “God, who is the maker of all things, and has formed them from his own existence, who after a time dissolves, and again re-makes them, is self-existent and incorruptible||—God being eternal has created all things¶—God is an immortal being, rational, perfect ; ruling the universe and all things in it, as the Maker and Father of all: but he

\* Cic. de Nat. Deor., lib. ii. c. 8.

† Ib., c. 29.

‡ Ib.

§ Diog. Laert., lib. vii. § 148.

|| Ib., § 137.

¶ Ib., § 134.

is not in human form.”\* That acute men, as many of the Stoics are known to have been, should have gone on uttering such contradictions for three or four centuries, appears almost unaccountable: one lesson, however, it may teach us, which is not altogether needless at any time: it shows the power of prejudice on minds otherwise cultivated, and is a good instance of the danger of receiving dogmas upon authority, without examination.

The moral doctrines of the Stoics are better known than their theology and physics. They taught that the great object, *τέλος*, of man’s existence, was, to live according to the tendencies of his nature; these being exhibited in the instinctive affection towards offspring, social ties, &c.; and the duties springing out of such relations were considered as forming part of these tendencies. Reason being the noblest part of our nature, this of course claimed the most regard, and he who lived according to reason, giving due attention to the duties springing from the tendencies of our nature, was a happy man. If, then, happiness consists in living virtuously, there can be no pain but that of living viciously; therefore bodily pain is no evil; and the virtuous man on some occasions sets it at nought, and finds pleasure in so doing. But the Stoic’s virtuous man had no inducement to virtue: he was not promised immortality, for the soul was held to be of corruptible materials, and Zeno himself is said to have considered it merely as a warm breath.\* The high motive given by the teachers of the Academy, and the great men who preceded them, was therefore wholly wanting; and the Stoic who called on men to set pleasure at

\* Diog. Laert., lib. vii. § 147.

† Ib., § 157.

nought, and spent a life of painful sacrifices, could neither offer any sufficient compensation, nor plead the innate dignity of the undying soul ; nay, could only have gained converts at all in consequence of an instinctive feeling of things which they either disavowed, or perplexed, in their system of philosophy. It offered no complete solution of the great problem of man's existence ; but the mind caught at the one great principle of the Eternal Maker of all things, alone in his might and his goodness, and *felt* the consequences of this one tenet even whilst denying them.

Among the slanders heaped on each other by the rival sects of Stoics and Epicureans, it is not easy to distinguish the truth ; but by the rule already laid down, as the lives of the two founders of these famous sects were equally virtuous, though their dispositions were different, we shall probably be nearest the truth by disregarding both. One tenet, however, which is imputed to Zeno and his followers, seems in some degree proved by the conduct of Cato,\* one of the most famed of the Stoic sect. They are said to have taken the doctrine of a community of women from Plato's most visionary work, the "Republic;" which even his own better sense rejected in his later work on the same subject, *i. e.*, his "Laws." It was only in times when females were so lowered from their human dignity by ignorance, as to be viewed in the light of a property merely, that such a doctrine could have found place : but when such a man as Plato could so speculate,—when such a man as Aristoteles could doubt that women and slaves were *capable* of rational and virtuous conduct, it is not wonderful that Zeno, never an ori-

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\* See Plutarch's Life of Cato of Utica.

ginal thinker, should have been led away by their example.

In anatomy the Stoics seem to have made some progress,\* and to have made a good use of it, by arguing the existence of the Deity from the curious contrivances in the construction of man's body. The nerves, however, are by them supposed to originate in the heart, which shows that they must have traced their course very carelessly. It is from this ancient notion, probably, that we derive the expression so common still, of—"I have not the heart to do it."—The course of the blood seems to have been tolerably well understood: so well, that it is not very clear why its circulation should not have been so also.

The astronomy of the Stoics partook of all the faults of the times; and of their logic and mode of arguing a sufficient specimen has been given. In manners they affected much of the severity of the Cynics, though they seasoned it with more of gravity and decorum; and, to pursue the comparison with later times, if the Cynics were the mendicant order, we may reckon the Stoics the Quakers of philosophy.

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\* Cic. de Nat. Deor., lib. ii. c. 55.

## VII.

### EPICURUS AND HIS SCHOOL.

B. C. 307 TO — ?

ZENO had not been long established as the founder of a new sect, when another teacher made his appearance at Athens, whose doctrines were destined to have a larger and longer influence in the world than could have been expected from his parentage and education. EPICURUS was the son of Neocles, an Athenian of good family,\* but much reduced in circumstances, who had, in consequence, joined the colonists who were sent to Samos after that country had submitted to the arms of Athens in the time of Pericles. It was in the birthplace of Pythagoras, therefore, that the young Epicurus received his first instruction. This, however, amounted to but little, for his mother was reduced by their poverty to go from house to house as a dealer in lustrations and charms, and in these expeditions the boy accompanied her, in order to read the lustratory verses ; at other times he assisted his father in the humble business of a schoolmaster. The accidental reading of some of Democritus' treatises is said to have first given him a taste for philosophy.

At eighteen years of age he visited Athens, but whether he profited by the opportunity thus afforded him of enjoying the instruction of Xenocrates, or of

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. x. § 1. Peisistratus had sprung from the same stock. See Plutarch in Solone.

Aristoteles, then established at Chalcis in Eubœa, is very uncertain : he is said in after times to have declared that he was self-taught.\* The distracted state of political affairs after the death of Alexander, drove him from Athens, and, four or five years after his departure from Samos, he joined his father at Colophon, in Ionia.† Here he remained nearly ten years, after which he passed his time partly at Mitylene, and partly at Lampsacus, till, at the age of thirty-five, or as some say, thirty-seven, he returned to Athens, now restored to freedom by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and having purchased a house and garden for eighty minæ,‡ he there opened his school of philosophy. Some friends and disciples seem to have followed him from Lampsacus, and other places ; among these Metrodorus was the chief ; and they, with some others, seemed to have formed a little society, congregated under the roof of their teacher ; whose manners had something so captivating, that his pupils adored, rather than learned of him. Of Metrodorus it is recorded that he had never quitted him but once, and that only for six months, in order to revisit his friends at Lampsacus. Epicurus rewarded his faithful attachment by as faithful a friendship, for Metrodorus dying seven years before his teacher, this latter took the charge of his children, and provided for them in his will.†

It is probable that the disgust which the habits of the Cynics, and the sternness of the Stoic philosophy caused to the gentle nature and weak health of Epicurus, first led him to review the systems which had sprung up before and since the death of Socrates.

\* Diog. Laert., lib. x. § 11.

† See Gassend., *De Vit. et Mor. Epicuri.*

‡ About £320 of modern English money.

§ Diog. Laert., § lib. x. §§ 19, 20, 23.

He is said to have passed over the later ones, as less worth his notice, and to have returned with especial respect to that of Anaxagoras and his pupil Archelaus; so that he may be considered as a pupil both of the Italian and Ionic schools, though in many things differing from both. From the Ionic and Pythagorean sects he took the atomic doctrine, adhering, however, most to that form of it which was taught by Democritus, whose books he lectured from:—from the Cyrenaic sect he borrowed the tenet, that the object of life was pleasure, which he purified at the same time, by specifying that it was *mental* pleasure that he intended; and from Anaxagoras and Socrates he seems to have taken the high tone of morality,† and the disregard for the vulgar superstitions, which distinguish his writings, of which, however, the larger part has unfortunately perished.

The Stoics, jealous of the new teacher, whose doctrines and conduct had much of the gentleness which afterwards characterized Christianity, set themselves in illiberal opposition to him, and endeavored, by slandering his private conduct, to throw discredit on his tenets. They affected to consider his doctrine, that “pleasure is the *summum bonum*, pain the great evil of man,” as one of immoral tendency; and without regarding his real doctrine, or his real life, they represented the little society assembled in his pleasant house and garden, as a set of worthless debauchees and courtesans, and the teacher himself as the leader in every kind of licentiousness. In order to give color to these representations they forged letters of the most infamous description, which were ascribed to him and his friends;‡ and others have come down to

\* Diog. Laert., lib. x. § 4.

† In his letter to Meneceus. Diog. Laert., lib. x.

‡ Diog. Laert., lib. x. § 3.

us, which, though not particularized as forged, bear such internal marks of falsehood in their disagreement with known dates, that we may safely add them to the list of the calumnies invented by the opponents of his philosophy, in order to throw discredit on the captivating teacher who thinned the numbers in their schools, by attracting them to his own.

It is worthy of remark that every system of philosophy which arose in Greece, found converts among the female sex also, notwithstanding the hindrances thrown in their way by the prejudices of society, and the ignorance in which that sex was kept by the domestic usages of the country. It is not very creditable to human nature that then and there, as well as till very lately in England, almost every woman who stepped beyond the littlenesses of life, so as to fit herself for the greater duties which fall to her lot as a citizen of the state, was made the object of scorn and calumny by a large portion of both sexes. The minds which could surmount such obstacles must therefore have been of no ordinary calibre, and their cowardly enemies had tact enough to know that it was useless to deny the talent which they envied ; but it is easy to whisper away the purity of a woman's reputation, and this plan was pursued with unusual success. The consequence has been that names too famous in science and literature to be forgotten, have come down to us with the slander of those days so closely attached to them, that it requires all the acuteness of criticism to separate truth from falsehood, and do justice to these much maligned persons. Every one has repeated the tale of the wonderful learning of the courtesans of Ionia and of Athens :—few have taken the pains to consider that the two characters are incompatible both physically and morally ; and still fewer have examined remaining records enough

to show by comparison of dates and circumstances, that certainly some of these celebrated women, and most probably all, were but the victims of a kind of ill-nature which even in this age is not wholly unknown.

Among the disciples of Epicurus were many females, some of them the wives of the philosopher's friends, as Themista, whose learning became proverbial; and others, perhaps students under them, who devoted themselves to science, as Leontium, Philænis, &c., who were stigmatized by the unscrupulous Stoics, as women of light character; and supposititious letters and writings were attributed to them in order to support the slander.\* Yet Leontium is recorded to have written elegantly and learnedly against Theophrastus;† no light undertaking, and one not to be accomplished by a person whose time was devoted to other occupations so incompatible with severe study. Even the persons who have been so ready to report the accusations of licentiousness and gluttony against Epicurus and his pupils, have contradicted themselves, often in the same page, by noticing the frugal diet of the philosopher and his friends, their close application to study, and the continually increasing infirmity of health, which kept the former for many years a prisoner in his bed, from which he could not rise without assistance. His request to a friend to send him some "cheese to add to his bread occasionally, when he was inclined to fare sumptuously,"‡ shows sufficiently what were the delicacies which he was accused of setting daily on his table.

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\* Gassend. de Vit. et Mor. Epicuri, lib. i. c. 8. Athen., lviii.  
13.

† Cic. de Nat. Deor., lib. i. c. 33.

‡ Diog. Laert., lib. x., § 10.

It is not pleasant to trace and detect such a course of malignant slander; but it is no more than a duty which every historian owes to calumniated individuals; for were the judgment of posterity always to conform to the prejudices of cotemporaries, the motives for well-doing would, in many, be considerably lessened: among such, at least, as consider an honest fame in this world as one of the rewards of a life spent in the performance of sometimes painful duties. It is still more unpleasant to find cotemporary prejudices carried on through successive generations, and repeated by such men as Cicero, whose acute mind and habits of pleading ought to have led him to detect the truth. Yet even he, while repeating the often told slanders, is obliged to confess that the death of Epicurus was marked by a calmness and patience amid the severest sufferings, more heroic even than the self-sacrifice of Leonidas, or the fortitude of Epaminondas.\* The gentle and affectionate disposition of the man is shown in his will, when he makes provision for the orphan children of his friend Metrodorus, and appoints guardians for them from among his other disciples; to this he adds a request that his friends would meet once a month in memory of him, and leaves funds for defraying the expense of the entertainment. His pleasant little residence he left to Hermachus, one of his disciples, and to his successors in the philosophical chair.

No teacher ever enjoyed so long and affectionate a remembrance among his disciples as Epicurus. In the time of Cicero the ornament of cups, the impress of seals, the pictures in the hall of entertainment still represented the features of the honored founder of

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\* Cic. de Fin., lib. ii. c. 30.

the sect in the houses of his followers,\* and the name and observance only became obsolete when all philosophical sects merged in the one great rule of Christianity which this school closely resembled in many of its precepts.

The Epicurean philosophy has been chiefly famed on account of its tenets with regard to the material universe. Epicurus received his earliest impressions in science from the works of Democritus, and there was much in the writings of that naturalist which must have been fascinating to a young mind. He adopted his views with regard to the eternity of matter, the infinitely numerous atoms† of which, eternally moving and floating in an infinite vacuum, form, by their concretion, the different bodies of the material universe. These bodies, when dissolved, return to their primary atoms, but the sum of matter remains unchanged ; it always has been and always will be the same.‡

According to him there are three criteria of truth, *i. e.*, sense ; anticipation ( $\pi\rho\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$ ) ; and emotion ( $\pi\acute{a}\theta\sigma\varsigma$ ). Sense is the proper judge of material things, for, being wholly unreasoning, it can have no motive for deceiving us, and reports truly what it is conscious of :  $\pi\rho\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$ , *i. e.*, the seizing on beforehand, is that comprehension by which unseen things have their representatives in the mind, as in memory, or abstract ideas of things ;  $\pi\acute{a}\theta\sigma\varsigma$ , *i. e.*, whatever is passively endured, may be reduced to two heads,— pleasure and pain. But beyond the actuality of body and space, nothing can be properly comprehended ; because, if there be natures self-existing, we have

\* Cic. de Fin., lib. v. c. 2.

† *i. e.*, indivisible particles.

‡ See his letter to Herodotus given by Diog. Laert., lib. x.

nothing analogous to enable us thoroughly to understand them.\* Epicurus probably took this also from Democritus, who affirmed that the complete truth was hidden from men too deeply for him to have any hope of attaining it; and this cautious mode of treating the subject perhaps was adopted, too, with a view of avoiding the fate of Anaxagoras, Socrates, and others, who had suffered for declaring too plainly that the gods of the people were no gods, and for endeavoring to introduce a more spiritual worship.

Astronomy had been curbed in like manner, by the decree that new notions respecting the heavenly bodies were not to be promulgated, under pain of death; and we find Epicurus speaking no less cautiously on this head: so cautiously, indeed, that it would be difficult to get at his opinion, did not the very doubt expressed show that he was not fully convinced that the generally received system was the right one. The stars may be extinguished at their setting and rekindled at their rising; or they may be obscured by the interposition of the earth during part of their revolution. The heavens may be carried round altogether, or the heavenly bodies may have a separate movement: they may be bigger, or they may be less than they appear to us, &c.:† from all which nothing can be gathered further than that he either could not, or would not speak more plainly.

With regard to morals Epicurus was much more explicit; and in his letter to Menœceus he gives

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\* Diog. Laert., lib. x., § 40. There is a variation, however, in different copies. The above reading is given on the authority of Gassendi, whose diligence in drawing together all that could throw light on the history and doctrines of Epicurus is universally acknowledged.

† See his letter to Pythocles, Diog. Laert., lib. x.

his code at some length. "No one," he says, "ought to think himself too young or too old for philosophic contemplation; since it is the great business of man to consider what is requisite to the living well:—happily as regards himself and worthily as regards his relations to society. And in the first place, as a needful constituent of this knowledge, we must take care that, believing God to be an immortal and perfectly happy Being, we attribute nothing to him that is inconsistent with these attributes. Thus, though there are gods, as appears evidently from our reason, yet they are not such as they are vulgarly esteemed to be. The following the opinion of the vulgar in this matter constitutes impiety, therefore, not the differing from them: for it is not the *general* anticipation or apprehension of the many respecting the gods that is false, but the *particulars* of their opinion on this subject are so: for they conceive great evils to be caused by the bad among the gods, and what is advantageous, by the good." And here Seneca, though no Epicurean, enables us to fill up the rest of the system, by reproaching Epicurus with reverencing God only as a parent, to be honored and worshiped for his excellence, without thinking of any gain to be obtained by so doing.\* "The wise man," continues Epicurus, "will not consider the loss of life an evil; but as food is chosen for its quality rather than its quantity, so he will endeavor to make his life pleasant rather than long. It is needful to satisfy our physical wants in a certain degree, both for the sake of living in comfort, and in order to keep the body tranquil, so as to leave the mind free

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\* "Deum, Epicure, vis videre colere, non aliter quam parentem? . . . nulla spe, nulla pretio inductus, sed propter ejus majestatem eximiam, supremamque naturam." Seneca de benef., lib. iv. c. 19.

from disturbance: for our endeavor should be to avoid suffering and perturbation; since pleasure is the great object of life. But it is not every kind of pleasure that will be sought by a wise man; for luxurious feasts are not needful to him who by temperance and exercise has made his bread and water sweet to his taste; therefore, when I speak of pleasure as the *summum bonum*, I do not mean licentious pleasures: for he only enjoys a truly happy life, who examines his desires by the light of sober reason, and determines which ought to be gratified, which repressed. In short, no man can live happily who does not live wisely and justly, and no man can live wisely and justly without being happy: for virtue and happiness cannot be separated. Nay, were it possible, it would be better to live wisely and to be unhappy, than to be irrational and fortunate. One who acts on these principles lives among men as if he were already a god: he has nothing about him that resembles the brute animal, but though a man, he lives among the immortals.”\*

Only one thing is wanting to the excellence of this system; but that one deficiency almost nullified it. Epicurus taught that death was annihilation; and it is in vain that we preach the excellence of virtue if we have no other life to expect, where what we have learned to love and admire may be enjoyed. The very longing after moral perfection becomes a torture if we have no hope that it will ever be fully gratified; for, though nothing can be truer than the position of Epicurus, that virtue and happiness can never be separated, yet this truth is only fully apparent to the mind when it dares to look beyond this world for the completion of its wishes. Then, indeed, the progress of

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\* Ep. ad Menœceum. Diog. Laert., lib. x.

moral improvement is delight, for every step gained promises yet another, and another; and death is only viewed as the removal of obstacles which delayed our onward course. The want of this stimulus in the Epicurean philosophy, made the admirable good sense and good feeling of the gentle founder of the sect unavailing; and when a greater than Epicurus preached the like doctrines, with the one great deficiency supplied as no unassisted human reason could have supplied it, the Epicureans had too generally forgotten the comment, and retained only the maxim that pleasure is the only good. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," will generally be the termination of any system which rejects the tenet of the soul's immortality.

After Epicurus no other sect of importance sprung up among the Greeks; though slight variations were made in the teaching of the Academy, and the Stoicks split into factions, rather than sects, for the real differences were not great. The Epicurean school kept its ground with less change than any other, and in the time of Plutarch even, the name of Metrodorus was authoritative among the disciples of that philosophy.\*

From Greece, the love of science spread to Rome, and Athens was to the rude people of that rising empire, what Paris once was to England and to the northern European nations. Greek was the fashionable language, and Athenian philosophers were the fashionable tutors. The elder Cato, clinging to early prejudices, when Carneades, the then head of the Academy, was sent on a political mission to Rome, procured his dismissal, lest he should corrupt the

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\* See Plutarch cont. Koloten.

youth of the city; yet the old man, before his death, yielded to the universal impulse so far as to learn Greek himself;\* and in spite of his warnings, the statesmen and warriors of the great republic became, for the most part, disciples of the Garden, the Stoa, or the Academy. Sylla too, though barbarian enough to cut down the groves of the Academy, amid the plunder of Athens brought home the writings of Aristoteles, which had so long been lost to the world; and finally, Greek philosophy found a voice in that most lucid of all writers, Cicero; who undertook to give his countrymen a kind of epitome of the doctrines of the different sects. Enough remains to us of these beautiful works to make the loss of any part of them most grievous. They are, or might be, in the hands of all; it is, therefore, needless to notice them farther here.

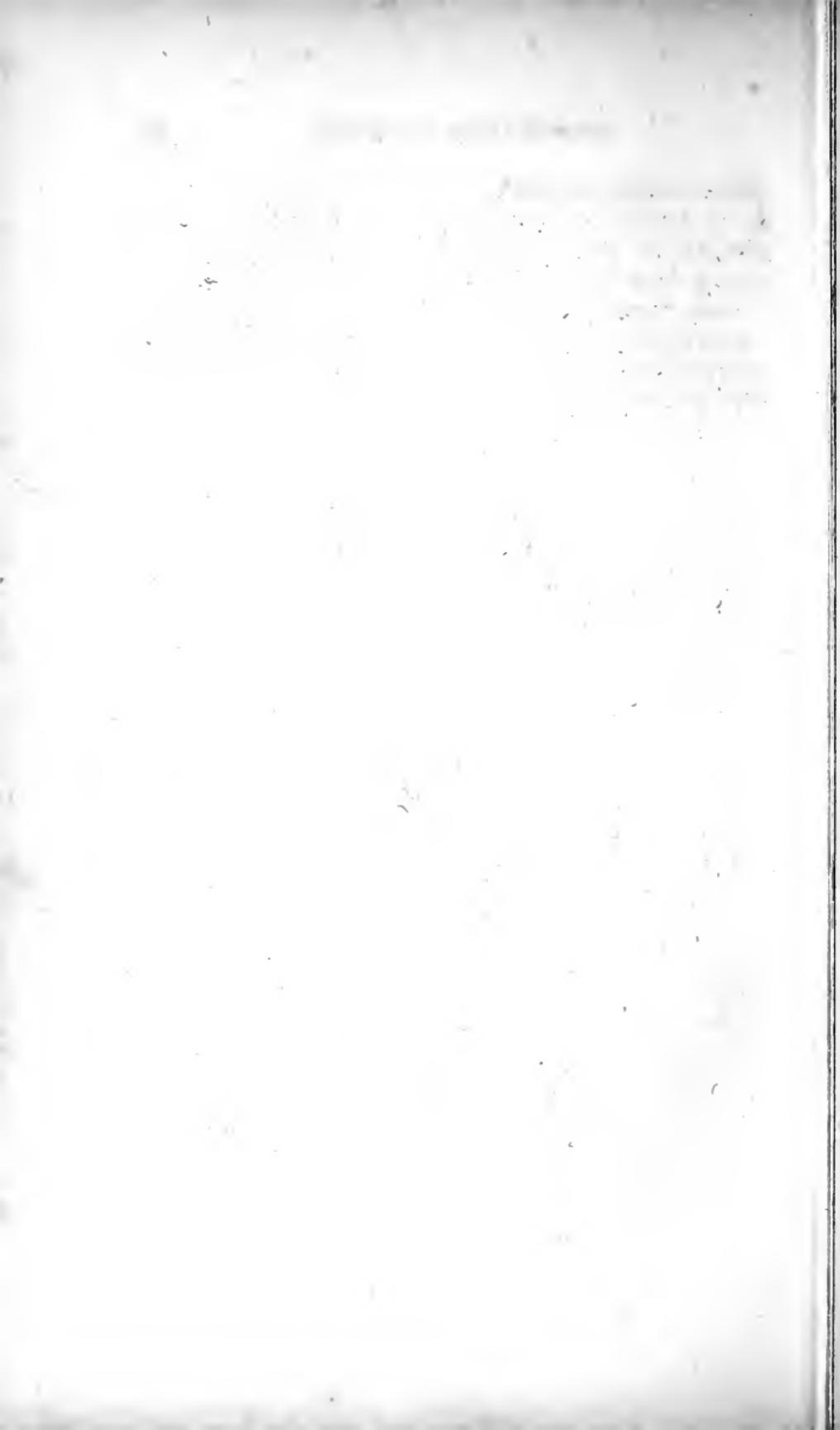
Cicero was nearly the last of that race of great men whom St. Paul so eloquently praises, “who having not the law, were a law unto themselves.” He was too good for his contemporaries, and was sacrificed to the profligacy of the times. The last preacher of righteousness had now left the stage, and A MIGHTIER VOICE,—though still and small, like that which followed the storm and the earthquake that shook Horeb to its foundations,—proclaimed the tidings of immortality to mankind, and confirmed the hopes which so many of the wise and good had cherished as their dearest treasure, during a long period of suffering. Philosophy had done its work;—men longed for THE TRUTH, and it was bestowed; noble Athenians were among the first converts to Christianity; Platonic philosophers among its most fearless martyrs; so truly had old Socrates fulfilled his mission, and taught

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\* See Plutarch in *Catone majore*.

men to contemn honors, wealth, or life, if they were to be bought by the sacrifice of principle. It is pleasant to see the affectionate remembrance with which these philosophic converts recur to the lessons of their early instructors, and we may draw thence a sure proof that the early Academy had faithfully executed its great charge, and become a true “schoolmaster to bring men to Christ.”

THE END.



# SMALL BOOKS ON GREAT SUBJECTS.

EDITED BY A

FEW WELL-WISHERS TO KNOWLEDGE.

No. VII.



*Clement, Peter Flavius Clemens*

# CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

IN THE

SECOND CENTURY.

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## CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

### INTRODUCTION.

MUCH has been said and written within the last few years on the subject of Primitive Christianity; and, as generally happens on all points in which men's interests are deeply concerned, party spirit has crept in, and created discord where it is most to be lamented. It is a subject of wonder to many, that a religion of peace should ever give rise to the fierce animosities which have so frequently disgraced the history of the Church; but we may notice that in matters of civil polity, though they are the concern only of a few years, bloody disputes arise, notwithstanding that the Christian profession of the contending parties forbids any such outbreaks of ill-will towards our fellow-men. Can we wonder then, that when men's minds are so little disciplined in the true doctrine of Christianity, the same spirit which pervades their every-day intercourse should show itself on occasions where the feelings are yet more strongly roused? The interests of eternity far surpass those of this perishable world; and the half disciple of Christ, who believes in a future life, but has not studied the precepts of his master sufficiently to know how those interests will be best consulted, attaches himself to certain ceremonies or dogmata, as the keystones of salvation, and is proportionably angry with any one who seems endeavoring to pull

them down ; and thus the same lack of *real* Christian duty and feeling which shows itself in the violence of an election, is manifested also in the contention upon a disputed dogma in religion. Truly might the Saviour say to his disciples in all ages, “Ye know not what spirit ye are of.”

It is not with any view to controversy that this little work is published: on the contrary it has been the object of the writer to promote concord, by showing Christianity in the very garb she wore when conquering the world ; when she was so lovely that men died for her sake, and he who came to gaze on the sufferings of the martyr, as at an idle spectacle, remained to share his fate, baptized, as it were, with his blood. To restore such feelings, to show Christians of all denominations in how many points they agree, and how very little they differ on any of those doctrines which a Catechist of the second century thought it needful to impress on the converts committed to his teaching, is an object worth some pains: accordingly the present small tract is the product of the labor of many years, during which the compiler has carefully gone over the early Christian writers. He has found the views of Clement of Alexandria pervading the whole ; but has chosen him as the representative of the early Church, because he has taken a larger survey of the *practical* part of Christianity than most of the writers which remain to us : and because, in these practical lessons, we see what was the mode of induction by which he arrived at the principles from which he afterwards deduced his precepts. A contrary practice has been frequently a source of error; it is therefore the more needful to draw attention to this mode of proceeding.

Christianity is not a written code of laws: Christ

left no sacred books ; he left no command to his Apostles to write any ; they were to teach the principles of a pure faith and a pure morality, but were left to accommodate to circumstances the superstructure which was to be built on this foundation. When, therefore, we find a positive injunction in the writings of the Apostles, our first step must be to inquire under what circumstances that injunction was given : the next, to consider what was the fundamental principle from which, under such circumstances, such a precept was deduced ; that fundamental principle, when we have arrived at it, not the injunction itself, is Christianity. Thus the command to "greet one another with a holy kiss," was deduced from the principle of universal love to our fellow-creatures, and the apostle enjoined a testimony of it, which was conformable to the habits of the age and country in which he wrote ; the fundamental principle of extended benevolence is as important now as then, but the mode of testifying it is different : the *precept* is null, the *principle* is of eternal force. This is but one very obvious instance out of a multitude that might be given.

It is from this misunderstanding of the mode by which we are to arrive at Christian doctrine, that most of the sects in the Church have arisen ; for the sectarian builds his opinions on special interpretations of special texts, and his opponent argues on the same plan : neither of them appeals to great principles, and therefore the controversy is endless : since as long as we have no better medium than words framed for the natural wants of this world, to convey our notions relating to matters so wholly different, we shall never be able to impress our own full meaning on the mind of another : but were we once to go back to principles, which being the internal persuasions of

reason, will be felt in all minds alike,—at least in all that have the power of thinking and drawing a conclusion,—we should find that most of these long disputed dogmata would fade away, and men would wonder why they had been at variance.

Instead of taking a passage of St. Paul's Epistles, and endeavoring to make it a rule of faith, we should rather ask ourselves how was the great Apostle of the Gentiles situated when he wrote this? As, for instance when he says, "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments of this world, and not after Christ," we ought to recollect the peculiar state of philosophy in his days, devoted rather to idle questions than real science; and conclude from thence, that the *principle* which he meant to enforce was, the founding our faith on sound knowledge, and not losing time over unavailing quibbles; such as, when a man leads a horse by a halter, whether it is the man or the halter which leads the horse: for of this kind were the questions which the sophists of those days delighted to puzzle their auditory with. To conclude against the philosophy of a Herschell, because St. Paul had mentioned the word philosophy in a tone of disapprobation, would be a specimen of the above mentioned narrow kind of adherence to the letter of the precept. The more reasonable mode of proceeding would rather be to ask ourselves,—had St. Paul lived in the nineteenth century, and visited this country, how would he have acted, and what mode of conduct would he have enjoined? he, who professed himself to be "all things to all men, if by any means he might save some." Uncompromising as he was in all that related to the weightier matters of the law, how carefully does he avoid wounding lesser prejudices! "One believeth that he may eat all things,

another who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not: and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God hath received him. Who art thou that judgest another's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea he shall be holden up, for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind: he that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it.”\*

And here one word may be permitted;—it shall be a short and a kind one—to the Anglo-Catholics of Oxford, and their opponents. Would St. Paul, were he now here, speak otherwise than in the passage above quoted? Why, then, should there be a dispute over such minor differences? Learned and pious as the heads of the Anglo-Catholics are, have we any right to blame them for a scrupulousness which St. Paul would have respected? Yet learned and pious as those excellent men undoubtedly are, may they not learn one farther lesson from him, and be contented to leave to their brethren that Christian liberty which he would not have abridged? It may admit a doubt, and a well-grounded one, whether that Apostle, with his eminently liberal and practical views, would ever have wished to revive in England, in the nineteenth century, the discipline of the Churches of Syria or Greece in the fourth. Let us then rather hold out the hand of Christian affection to each other, and allow mutually, that “he that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he

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\* Rom. xiv. 2-6.

that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it."

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Clement of Alexandria, whose writings form the groundwork of the following pages, is thought to have been born at Athens: he was the son of Gentile parents, whose rank and fortune enabled them to afford him all the advantages of a liberal education; his own diligence aided his parents' liberality, and young Clement made extraordinary proficiency in philosophy, that early philosophy of Greece which, as he himself afterwards observed, "was, like the Mosaic law, a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ." Socrates and Plato brought him to the foot of the cross, and like the Roman centurion, his heart confessed at once the presence of the Deity in that suffering man. He became a Christian, and a zealous one; brought the treasures of his mind to the aid of the Church, and was for many years a Catechist, that is, a person charged with the instruction of the heathen converts before baptism. He remained at Alexandria, and finally became a presbyter, but never was raised to the rank of a bishop. He died peaceably about A. D. 212. His writings probably bear date about A. D. 180 to A. D. 202, at which latter period the persecution of the Emperor Severus drove him from the school at Alexandria to take shelter in a safe obscurity, till the storm was overblown.

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A few remarks will be needful to put the unlearned reader in possession of some peculiarities in the language, before he enters upon the following or any other translation from the Greek. Much of the New Testament will become the clearer in consequence. The word *Λόγος*, which in the Gospel of St. John is translated WORD, has in the original a much wider

signification; for though it occasionally has that sense, it much more generally signifies the reasoning faculty, or active power of the mind: from it is derived our word *logic*, and from *λογικός*, *logicos*, *rational*, we take our logical. A foolish man would be termed in Greek *ἄλογος*, i. e., without logos or understanding. The word *λόγος* was so commonly used in the schools of philosophy at the time when the New Testament was written, that no one could have had a moment's difficulty as to its sense; and accordingly we find several of the early Christian writers observing that the Logos, i. e., the active rational power, must have been in God from all eternity, because God is essentially *λογικός*, i. e., rational; and they accordingly give that title to every manifestation of God's will to his creatures, considering it in this case to be the rational power of God in visible action. Thus we find St. Paul speaking of the "Spiritual Rock," which followed the Israelites in their journey through the desert, "which rock was Christ."\* And shortly after, "neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents;" where the visible presence of God in the tabernacle is evidently termed Christ; a word used by the Apostle as synonymous with Logos, because, though different in their original signification, the two names were applied to the same Being.

Christ, which is the English mode of writing the Greek *χριστός*, i. e., anointed, is the same in meaning as the Messiah of the Hebrew, and both are applied to Aaron and the priests who succeeded him, because they were consecrated by unction: thus we constantly find in the Mosaic law, "and the *Messiah*, *the Priest*, shall do thus:"—that is, the anointed or

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\* 1 Cor. x. 4.

consecrated priest; and hence the appropriateness of the allusions to the office of the high priest in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Some allusions of this kind will also be found in Clement's writings. The double meaning of these titles gives rise perpetually to a play upon the words, which frequently cannot be rendered in a translation without a long periphrasis.

Another term which is used largely by Clement, and also by St. Paul, is taken from the mysteries of the Greeks, where the neophyte went through various stages of initiation, till at last he was permitted to know the whole arcanum, and then he was called finished or perfect ( $\tauέλειος$ ). The perfect Christian, then, in the acceptation of the early writers of the Church, does not mean a person who has never sinned, but one who, passing through the various stages of Christian discipline, had arrived at the complete knowledge of the spirit and meaning of his profession: for it must be recollected, that they are speaking of persons who had been brought up in the errors of heathenism, and who, having wished to be instructed in the mysteries of Christ instead of those of Eleusis, went through the different grades, first, of repentance for past errors; second, of belief or faith in the doctrines taught; third and last, of complete knowledge; and a Christian thus perfectly initiated Clement calls a Gnostic, from  $\gammaνώσις$ , gnosis, a perfect knowledge of a subject. The title of Gnostic had been adopted by some corruptors of the faith also, and Clement addresses himself to them, showing them wherein they were wrong; for, says he, "the true Christian Gnostic will be such a one as I sketch out;" and a more beautiful character can hardly be imagined than that of Clement's Gnostic, or perfect Christian.

It will be evident from what has been said, that in

order to give a true notion of the writer's meaning to the mere English reader, a paraphrase rather than a translation of the extracts given must often be requisite, and the compiler has, on many occasions, adopted that method, with a due care, however, to add nothing to the *meaning* of the original. Extracts from other authors of about the same age have been given, when they were useful either to corroborate or to explain the meaning of Clement. In some cases, as in the chapter of the *Pædagogus* on the Christian use of food, some details have been entered into, which at first sight may appear irrelevant to the general purpose of this small work; but there has been an object in their insertion: we are too apt to lose sight of the diversity of country and manners, in reading ancient writings, and thus make two mistakes; the one by unconditionally accepting their precepts, the other by unconditionally rejecting them. The same process which has been recommended above, with regard to the Epistles of the Apostles, is more needful yet in reading the writings of their successors, and it is in order to set the reader down, as it were, in a very different state of society, that some of these *fashions* of the day have been preserved in this selection from early Christian writers.

It should be remembered by all who are desirous of understanding the writings of the fathers, or the state of the Church in their times, that, in the early ages, heathens were the stuff that Christians were made out of. Men and women too were, by their early habits, corrupted to a point which surpasses anything which, in modern times, the decent part of society can even guess at: the grossest obscenities were the common, public, and every-day habits of life, and of religion too: and philosophers, in their schools, mooted the coarsest questions in the coarsest

language without the slightest reserve. The Roman Emperors made a parade of every abomination that man could commit, without attempting the least concealment even from the people in general, excepting in the case of Tiberius:—eyes, ears, thoughts, were poisoned from morning till night by a tainted atmosphere. Amid this steam of putridity Christianity raised itself, pure, unspotted, holy,—wrapped, as it were, in the fragrance of heaven in the midst of the reeking corruption: it was around the cross only that a pure air could be breathed, and men fled to it as for life:—but they carried with them the recollection and the stains of their early habits:—what wonder then that even Christian doctors used language, and discussed questions which are now strange to our ears? what wonder, if amid such scenes as were rife in the moving world, many should withdraw wholly from it, and find their happiness in the wilderness? what wonder if the bishop who had a feeling of what Christian duty is, should seek to gain a power even over crowned heads, that would enable him to check such licentiousness? When Ambrose closed the gates of the Cathedral of Milan against the Emperor Theodosius, then stained with the massacre at Thessalonica, and compelled him to public penance and reparation, he showed what was the noble object which animated the heads of the Church at that time, in striving to exalt the spiritual over the temporal jurisdiction: the common sense of the people compared the bishop with the emperor,—the former not without faults, but infinitely superior in all that forms the true greatness of man, to the licentious tyrants who too often wore the purple; and public opinion gave the supremacy to the bishop. A power which confessedly stands on this as its chief support, must have begun in good; for nothing that

is in the first instance oppressive or wholly false can gain a *majority* of adherents, which a power founded on public opinion implies ; but unfortunately the very nobleness and greatness of the end, blinded those who had it in view, so far, that they became unscrupulous as to the means of attaining it ; and having once lost sight of the Christian command not to do evil that good may come, the very advancers of a noble object corrupted their own hearts, and vitiated their purpose by the ill means adopted : the step was easy from spiritual to political power, and an ambitious man who saw that his really devout predecessors had not scrupled to make use of fraud, to gain a farther hold on the minds of the people, easily persuaded himself that his political ambition had really the glory of God in view, and used the same means for a worse purpose. Political power was gained partly by immoral means, partly by the lingering prestige of holiness which hung round the priestly vestment, compared with the vices and cruelties of the princes of a rude age : but political power placed the prince bishops on a level with temporal rulers, they adopted their manners and their vices, and once more public opinion stripped and threw down the idol, which but a few ages before it had so eagerly set up.

Such is the view which an unprejudiced spectator probably would take of the rise of the spiritual power, which at last frightened its creators into pulling it down again ; and it may be usefully applied to the present times. We should then view Romanism as an almost necessary phase of Christianity in a state of society now passed away, and remembering that since the Church, according to the promise of its founder, is to be coeval with the world, it must have within itself the power of accommodating itself to the

state and needs of every age;—we shall endeavor to develop its power in the direction most appropriate to time and place, not by reviving the exact discipline of any bygone age, but by giving it the energy best suited to our own; an energy of good and useful works rather than of ceremonial observance. It is better to remember Cyprian calling his flock together to nurse the sick of the plague at Carthage, than to dwell on his high pretensions to episcopal power, though if in any they were ever justified, it was in such a man. When the Church makes such calls, men's hearts respond to it, if not their lips; for though Cyprian died a martyr to his faith, his honored obsequies met no interruption from the heathen governor, who knew how dear the Christian bishop was become, even to the population who had not received his creed, by his unhesitating and undistinguishing benevolence:—undistinguishing, I mean, as to what the religious profession of the object of it might be. Heathens had left their sick and dying relatives,—Christians had nursed them as a part of the great human brotherhood,—and the tears of both parties flowed over his grave, who had given the impulse to this act of self-devotion.

Let us view the first Christians then as they were; as men of great minds, though influenced, as all men must be, by the circumstances of their times; mixing almost superhuman virtues at one time, with human errors at another, and whilst contemplating those virtues with the admiration which all who love excellence must feel, let us not suffer our admiration to blind us to their faults, nor forget that there is but **ONE PERFECT EXEMPLAR** for every Christian to follow.

## AN EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS.

C. 1. THE writer opens his subject by reminding the Greeks of their traditions respecting the effects of the music and sacred hymns of Amphion, Orpheus, and others. Song, he observes, has been the vehicle of superstition too often, it is now time that other and better hymns should teach you other and better lessons. He thus continues:

“The Lord has made man after his own likeness, that he might be a fair, self-breathing instrument of sweet music; and He too the heavenly supra-mundane Logos, is a holy and well-tuned organ, giving forth the whole harmony of God. What then does this organ, our Lord the Logos of God, intend to effect by his new song? To open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf, and to lead the erring and lame to the paths of righteousness: to show God to foolish men, to put an end to corruption, to vanquish death, and to turn disobedient sons towards their Father; for this organ of God is a lover of man. The Lord pities, instructs, exhorts, admonishes, saves, guards, and finally announces to us an abundant reward for our proficiency in learning the lessons he teaches, even the kingdom of heaven! He enjoys but one pleasure through us, and that is that we should be saved: for vice indeed feeds upon the corruption and destruction of man, but the Eternal Truth like a bee, drawing to himself all the sweetness of the flower without hurting it, rejoices only in our salvation. See then! thou hast His promise! thou hast His affection for thy race! Participate in

the proffered grace. And as for this my song of salvation, think it not altogether new, for before the morning star He was. ‘In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and God was the Logos.’

“But error seems ancient: the truth appears to be new: thus the fabulous goats teach the antiquity of the Phrygians; or the poets feign the Arcadians to have existed before the moon; or the Egyptians imagine their land to have first produced both gods and men; but none of these claim to have existed before the world. But long before the world *we*\* existed in the will and intention of God; for we are the rational creation of God’s rational will, and through him we became the most ancient; for the Logos, i. e., reason, was in the beginning; and as the Logos was before all things, so he was and is the divine origin of all: but now that he first takes the name which of old belonged to the sacrificing priest,† namely, that of Christ, I call the song a new one.

“The divine Logos, the Christ, was the cause of our being, and of our well-being also: for he was in God:§ and now this Logos himself appears to men,

\* i. e., the Christians, who then appeared as a new sect.

† τὰ Θεὰ Λόγια ἡ λογικὰ πλάσματα ἡμεῖς.

‡ The sacrificing priests, under the Mosaic dispensation, were termed the Messiah or anointed. This word is translated in Greek by *χριστός* i. e., Christ.

§ “For God was before all things alone—being both world and place and everything to himself. Alone, because there is nothing exterior to Him, and yet not indeed alone, because he had in himself his reason: for God is rational, and reason was first in Him, and thus all things are from Him, and this reason is his sensation. The Greeks term it *λόγος*, which we translate WORD, and thus our people, for brevity’s sake, say, ‘In the beginning the Word was with God,’ though it would be more proper to say, reason, since God was not speaking from the beginning, although rational; and this he was, even before the

the only being that ever partook of both natures, as well that of God as of man, to be the cause of all good to us. From him we learn to live virtuously; by him we are conducted towards eternal life, as says the divine apostle of the Lord, ‘the love of God the Saviour was manifested to all men, instructing us, in order that we, having abjured all impiety and worldly desires, might live soberly, and justly, and piously in this world, expecting, in blessed hope, the manifestation of the glory of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

“This then is the new song: namely the appearance of the Logos, existing in the beginning, and before the beginning, now shining forth in us. The pre-existing Saviour has now but a short time since, appeared to us: HE has appeared who exists ever in the Ever-existing: in order that the Logos,—i. e., reason or wisdom,—by whom all things were created,\* who was with God, might become a teacher to

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beginning; for the very word spoken, consisting of reason, shows the prior existence of this latter. . . . . Considering, therefore, and disposing by his reason, He effected his will by his word. Which thou mayst easily understand by what passes in thyself . . . when thou conferrest silently with thine own reason.”—*Tertull. adv. Praxeum*, c. 5.

\* “God through his reason or word (*λόγος*) and wisdom (*σοφίας*) made all things.”—*Theoph. ad Autolycum*, lib. i.

“It is not allowable to think otherwise therefore of the Spirit and the power (*τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν*) which is in God (*παρὰ τὸν Θεόν*) than that it is the Logos, which also is the firstborn of God, as Moses the prophet has shown. This came upon the Virgin and overshadowed her,” &c.—*Justin Mart., Ap. ii.*

“Possessing the Spirit which is Jesus Christ.”—*Ignat. ad Magnesios Ep., § 5.*

Nothing is more remarkable in the early Christian writers than the care with which they guard against any *separation* of the Deity in the mind; probably the Arian notion which made the Logos a separate being was already beginning to creep in. But as in the above passage Justin asserts the complete oneness of the Deity as manifested in Christ, so he asserts also the com-

us. The Logos who gave life in the beginning as Creator, now appears as a teacher, in order that he may afterwards, as God, give us life eternal. Nor did he now first take pity on our errors, but long ago, in the beginning of time: and now, when we were perishing, he appears and saves. For the evil and creeping animal, tempting and bewitching, enslaves and tortures men even to this time, as the barbarians are said to do their captives, binding the dead to the living till both putrefy together. For this evil one, like a tyrant, ties such as he is able to make his own, to stones, and wood, and all sorts of idols, with the miserable bond of superstition; and, it may be said, buries the living with those who are already decayed: thus,—for the tempter is but one,—he dragged Eve of old,\* and now other men, to death. Our Helper and Saviour, the Lord too, is One; awaiting, from the first, the time prophetically announced; but now visibly calling us to salvation. Let us then, according to the apostolic precept, fly ‘the ruler of the power of the air, of the spirit now energetic in the sons of disobedience,’ and escape to the Saviour and Lord, who now and ever exhorts to salvation, as he did of old in Egypt and the desert, through the bush and the cloud. And now by the voice of Moses the deeply learned, and Isaiah the lover of truth, and all the chorus of prophets, by a more rational teaching, he turns all who have ears towards that Logos which is the Divine Wisdom; sometimes he blames, some-

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plete humanity of Jesus, within a few pages, in the same treatise. “Jesus, called the Son of God,” says he, “although he was a man according to the common acceptation of the term, was worthy of being called the Son of God, on account of the wisdom that was in him, for even your poets always call the Deity the father of gods and men.”—*Justin Mart.*, *Ap. ii.*, p. 67.

\* The tempter, according to Clement’s opinion, is the earthly or sensual nature.—See *Protrep.*, c. 11.

times he threatens; to some he speaks in elegies, to some in lyric songs; like a good physician using various remedies for the sick. For the Saviour is many voiced, and in many ways strives to effect the salvation of man.

“But thou, O Greek! if thou believest not the prophets, if to thee both the men and the fire are but a mythological fable, to thee the Lord himself speaks, ‘who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God;’ for the compassionate Deity abased himself in his eagerness to save man; and the Logos himself now addresses thee openly, shaming thy want of belief. I say then, that the Logos of God is made man, in order that thou mightest learn from a man, how man might become a god. Is it not then absurd, my friends, when God is always exhorting to virtue, to reject his help, and throw away salvation?”

Clement then goes on to notice the preaching of John, and his exhortations to repentance; and then adds, “Do thou then, if thou wouldest see God truly, participate in such a purification as shall be worthy of Him; not with leaves of laurel, and fillets varied with wool and purple, but clothing thyself with righteousness, and wearing the leaves of temperance for a garland, seek diligently till thou findest Christ. ‘I am the door,’ says he, and that door must be sought by those who would know God: that once attained, the gates of heaven are open to us: for the doors of the Divine Reason\* are rational,† opening with the key of faith: no one knows God but the Son, and he to whom the Son makes him known; but I am well assured that he who has opened the door hitherto

\* i. e. The Logos.

† λογικὰ γὰρ ἀν τῷ Λόγῳ πύλαι.

shut, will henceforward reveal what is within; and will show those things which no one was able to know before, unless he entered by Christ, through whom alone God is perceived."

C. 2. "No longer then seek so curiously to explore the impious adyta of your temples, nor the mouths of deep caves full of wonders, the Thesprotean pot, or the Cirrhean tripod, or the brazen cauldron of Dodona, or the knotted tree among the sands of the desert, held in so much honor, or the oracle there given. With the decaying tree leave also these worn out fables: the Castalian fountain has been silenced, so has that of Colophon, and the other oracular streams have died away in like manner."

After a further triumphant notice of the now silent oracles, the writer launches into a comparison of the abominations of heathen mythology, and its gross and sensual rites, with the purity and sublime doctrines of Christianity: notices with praise the pure lives of the philosophers, who by their contemporaries were termed atheists,\* and insists, that so far from this charge being true, they were so stigmatized merely because they pointed out and despised the falsehood of the reigning superstition; "if they did not actually arrive at the truth," he adds, "at least they saw the error, and kept a living ember among the ashes, to be kindled hereafter to a brighter light." He then, with a fresh burst of indignant reproof, holds up to contempt the so called gods of the Greeks, and con-

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\* "Christ is the firstborn of God, as we have already shown, being the Logos (reason and speech) of which all the human race are participant, and they who live according to reason are Christians, though they may have been called atheists, such as Socrates and Heracleitus and the like, among the Greeks, and among the barbarians Abraham and Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael, and Elias, and many more which for brevity's sake I omit."—*Justin Mart. Ap. ii.*

tinues this strain through several chapters: after this he reviews the opinions of the philosophers; condemns their occasionally obscure, and occasionally timid expressions respecting the momentous truths which he is calling the attention of his readers to, and contrasts them with the bold, clear language of Christianity. From the philosophers he turns to the poets; and having pointed out many of their mean and unworthy representations of their mythological deities, he brings forward the Hebrew prophets to show the difference in sublimity between falsehood and truth, and calls on those who have been hitherto blinded by superstition, to listen to the true description of the Maker of all things.

C. 8. "The wise prophet Jeremiah, or rather the Holy Spirit speaking in him, thus describes God, 'I am a God at hand,' saith he, 'not a God afar off: what can man do in secret that I see not? Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord.' And again in Isaiah, 'Who shall measure the heavens with his span, and take the earth in his hand?' See now the immensity of God, and bow in awe before him. HIM we worship of whom the prophet has said, 'before His face the mountains melt away, like wax before the fire'—that God whose throne is the heavens, and his footstool the earth." After some more quotations of this kind he thus proceeds.

"What then is the mystery of wisdom which I announce to you? We who have bowed ourselves before idols, are by that wisdom which is his Logos, raised to the truth; and this is the first resurrection from the fall."

C. 9. "The mouth of the Lord, the Holy Spirit, has said, 'Neglect not, my son, the instruction of the

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\* Protrept., c. 8.

Lord, neither shrink from his reproof.'—O exceeding philanthropy! God speaks to man, not as a schoolmaster to his scholars, not as a lord to his slaves, but as a father gently admonishing his children. Moses confesses that he feared and trembled when he heard the Logos, and thou hearing that divine Logos, dost thou not fear? Art thou not moved? Wilt thou not hasten to learn, that is, hasten to thy salvation, fearing his wrath, loving his kindness, eager for the hope he affords thee, that thou mayest escape judgment?"

C. 10. With an earnestness proportioned to the importance of the subject, the writer points out again and again the parental tenderness with which God calls his erring children back to himself: he entreats his readers no longer to hesitate, but to turn to the proffered embraces of their affectionate parent; and meets the anticipated objection that such a step would be an abandonment of the faith of their fathers, by a fresh demonstration of the vanity of that faith. "Call hither," he says, "your Pheidias and your Polycleitus, Praxiteles, and Apelles too, and all your excellent artists;—not one of them can make a breathing image; not one can mould his clay into flesh. Who softened the marrow? who hardened the bones? who swelled the veins, and poured the blood into them? who spread the skin over all? who of you all is able to construct an eye that shall see? who can breathe a soul into his work? who will bestow righteousness? who will promise immortality? He alone, who is the Creator of the universe, the Great Artist and Father who formed man to be his living image. Your Olympian Jupiter, the image of an image, is the vain work of Attic hands: but the true image of God is his Logos, the genuine Son of the Eternal Mind, the Divine Reason, the Light

given forth by the Primal Light of all things:—and man is the image of the Logos, for there is in him a mind, which we are told was made in the image of God, and after his likeness; namely, a rational intellect, and feelings resembling the Divine.

“He who has never heard of the Logos receives pardon of his sins on account of his ignorance; but he who has received the knowledge, but yet turns away his soul from it through wilful incredulity, by how much the more prudent he may appear, by so much he does injury to his own intellect, for man was made to be familiar with God. We do not set the horse to plough, nor the bull to hunt, but occupy each of those beasts in what they were born for. And man, who is made to gaze on the skies, is evidently a heavenly plant: we call you then to the knowledge of God, to intimacy with him; and counsel you to get ready a due provision for eternity, even a pious life. Till the earth, we say, if thou be an husbandman; but still amid thy labors, learn to know God; if thou be devoted to a sea life, follow thy profession, but call upon the Heavenly Steersman. Art thou a soldier? listen to the righteous orders of thy Commander. Awaken then as a man does from drunken sleep, open your eyes gradually, and look at the miserable stones that you have worshiped.” After a page or two of the same kind of exhortation, he continues thus:—

C. 11. “And now, if you be willing, let us take a brief view of the Divine benevolence towards us. The first man formerly sported free in Paradise, for he was the child of God; but when he resigned himself to sensual pleasure, (for the serpent crawling on his belly is an allegorical expression for sensuality and earthly vice feeding on rubbish,) the youth was perverted with unruly desires, grew a

man in disobedience, and not choosing to listen to his Father, dishonored God. How great is the power of sensuality ! the man who in his simplicity was free, is found bound by his sins. The Lord determined to loosen him again from his bonds, and for this purpose clothed himself in flesh ; O divine mystery ! By this he subdued the serpent, and enslaved the tyrant death ; and what is most beyond belief, that very man who was wandering in the ways of sensuality, chained to corruption, is now seen with his hands unbound, and at liberty. The Lord was abased, but man arose, and he who had fallen from Paradise, received Heaven as the reward of a greater obedience. Why then should we any longer frequent the schools of Athens or of Ionia ? For we have a Master who fills all things with his holy, creating, saving, beneficent power ; and who guides us by precept, by prophecy, by instruction,—for he is able to teach us all things.”

“ He who obeys him”—i. e. Christ—“ exults in everything ; follows God ; obeys his Heavenly Father, acknowledging his former errors ; loves God ; loves his neighbor ; fulfils the commandments ; strives after the prize of a successful combatant ; claims the promise. For it was always God’s intention\* to save the human flock, and therefore the good God sent the good Shepherd : the Divine Logos, explaining the truth, showed men the height of salvation, and how the repentant would be saved, but the disobedient judged. . . . . What then do I exhort thee to do ? I urge thee to save thyself—this is Christ’s will : in one word, he presents thee with life. And who is this Christ ? I will tell you in a few words. He is the Logos or Word of truth—of incorruption :

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\* πρόκειται δὲ ἀεὶ τῷ Θεῷ—i. e. It always lay before God.

who regenerates man, leading him to truth ; the spur to salvation, who puts away mortality, who expels death, who builds a temple in men, in order that God may dwell in them. Purify this temple, and throw sensuality and indolence, like an ephemeral flower, to the wind and the fire. Cultivate prudently the fruits of temperance, and consecrate thyself to God as a first-fruit of thy labor, and not of that only, but of the grace of God towards thee.

C. 12. "Let us fly then from old habits, let us fly them as we would a dangerous promontory, or the threatening of Charybdis, or the fabulous Sirens. An ill habit strangles the man : it turns him away from the truth, it is a snare, it is an abyss, it is a ditch to bury him in, an evil fan to blow away the good grain from his heart. But do thou

"Drive the good ship through yonder froth and foam."\*

Sail past, unheeding the song : its tones are death. If thou wilt, thou canst vanquish the danger, and bound to the mast,† thou wilt be free from all corruption : thy steersman will be the Logos of God, and the Holy Spirit is the favorable wind that calls thee to the port of heaven. There wilt thou see God, and take the last step in thy initiation in those holy mysteries." The writer then traces a parallel between the mysteries of Christ, and those of Bacchus, and thus proceeds :—

"These are *my* bacchanian mysteries : be initiated, and thou wilt join the chorus of angels around the self-existent, and undying, and only existing

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\* Part of the speech of Ulysses to his steersman. *Odys. μ. v. 226.*

†  $\tau\tilde{\omega} \xi\tilde{\nu}\lambda\tilde{\omega}$ , to the wood ; the phrase is applicable also to the cross.

Deity, hymning with us the Logos of God. He is immortal, this Jesus—the one great high-priest of the one God his father, he prays for men, and thus calls them.—Listen to me, ye myriads of tribes, or rather as many of you as are rational, (*λογικοί*), as well barbarians as Greeks. I call the whole race of man, of whom I am the maker, by the will of the Father. Come to me, to be ranged under the one God, and under the one Logos of God, and not only shall you surpass irrational creatures by your reason, but I bestow on you alone, of all mortals, the gift of immortality. For if indeed all things are common between friends, and man is the friend of God, (for he is become so by the intervention of the Logos,) then man has a share in all that belongs to God ; and all things are in common between the two friends, God and man. The pious Christian therefore can alone be called rich, and well-conducted, and well-born, for he is the image of God, made just, and holy, and prudent, by Christ Jesus, and by him rendered like to God. .... Thus stand things then with us, the companions of Christ : as are our opinions, such are our words ; and such as our words are, such are our actions ; and such as our actions singly, will be our life generally : for the life of men who know Christ must be excellent in all points.”

## THE PÆDAGOGUE, BOOK I.

C. 1. THREE things are chiefly to be noticed in man; *i. e.* his general disposition, or morals,—his actions, or what he does actively;—his emotions, or what he feels involuntarily and passively. Of these three, the *hortatory word* takes the especial charge of the general disposition, and whilst guiding men to piety, becomes a foundation for the building up of the faith. And in this teaching we rejoice greatly, and casting off our old opinions, we become young again, in order to our salvation, exclaiming with the prophet, “Oh how good is God to Israel, and to those whose hearts are set aright.” The *suggesting word* regulates our actions; the emotions are guided and stilled by the *persuasive* and *consolatory word*;<sup>\*</sup> but this word is altogether one, and being one, snatches man from the multiformity of worldly habits, and leads him in one way to salvation, even faith in God. Therefore whilst our heavenly Leader, the *Logos*, is calling us to salvation, we call him the *hortatory word*...when he is at once suggestive and remedial, we call him in one appropriate word, the *Pædagogue* or *Tutor*. But this *Tutor* does not teach the methods of the schools, but is strictly practical; for his object

\* In this passage the writer appears to have availed himself of the many senses of *λόγος*, to make it signify many things at once; and thus, while alluding to his own Exhortation, which might justly be called a *hortatory argument*, or *word* (*λόγος προτρεπτικός*), he, at the same time, expresses the offices assumed by the Divine *Λόγος*, and the uses to be made of the sacred writings.

is rather to better the soul, than to imbue it with learning, and to make men wise and good, rather than scientific. The Logos is able to teach knowledge also, but not yet :—for the teacher of science occupies himself in unfolding abstruse doctrines ; but this Tutor, being practical, attends first to the regulation of the disposition and morals ; incites us to set ourselves manfully to the performance of our duties ; directs us by the purest of precepts ; holds up the example of preceding errors, as a warning to those who come after... The cure of the interior sickness of our passions follows, the Tutor strengthening the soul by persuasive examples, like gentle medicines : by his benevolent admonitions dieting the sick to a perfect knowledge of the truth : for in our phraseology, health differs from knowledge ; the one being gained from medicine, the other from school discipline. Now we never attempt to teach the sick man till he is quite recovered ; nor are the precepts enforced on the sick man and the scholar of the same kind : for in the one case they will relate to the cure, in the other to progress in learning. As then those who are sick in body need a physician, so do those whose souls are weak and ailing, need the superintendence of a tutor and guardian, who shall take care that they are cured of the sickness of the passions first ; and then afterwards comes the teacher who leads them, thus cured and purified, into an aptitude for perfect knowledge, so that they may be able to comprehend the unfolding of the whole course of instruction.— And thus the philanthropic Logos, eagerly diligent in carrying us on to perfection through the different stages of a salutary discipline, uses this wise arrangement ; and first exhorts, then guides, and finally instructs in all knowledge.

C. 2. Our Tutor, O ye children ! resembles his

Father, God ; whose unsinning, irreproachable son he is ; his soul being free from all earthly perturbations. He is pure God in the character of a man,—the minister of the paternal will,—the Logos-God, who is in the Father, who is from among the integral powers\* of God,—God, with the very characteristics of God. He is to us an image without spot, which we must endeavor with all our strength to assimilate our souls to. But he indeed is free from the perturbation of human passions, and being alone without sin, is alone fit to be our judge ;—we nevertheless have so much power that we can endeavor to sin as little as possible, and there is nothing more urgent upon us than that we should, in the first place, free ourselves from the passions and sicknesses of our souls, and in the next, obtain power to prevent the too ready falling again into the habit of sinning.—Best of all it is not to sin at all—but this belongs to God ; the second grade is, not so much as to touch any unrighteousness intentionally, and this is the conduct of a sage: the third is not to fall into very many involuntary wrong doings, and this is the case with those who have been well educated; the last and lowest is that of persons who do not remain long in their sins. . . . Involuntary wrong doings are those which are the result of a sudden emotion. To sin is to act on an irrational principle, and hence the Divine Reason (*Λόγος*) our Tutor, has taken us under his superintendence for the prevention of such folly. . . . . “Medicine,” says Democritus, “cures the diseases of the body, but wisdom removes those of the

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\* *εκ διξιών*, the word here used in the plural, is in many passages of the New Testament used in the singular, and has there been translated *on the right hand*: its plural use here would seem to prove that it everywhere means the power that is in God to afford help.

soul." The good Tutor who is the wisdom (*σοφία*) and the reason (*λόγος*) of the Father, and the Maker of man, cares for the whole of his creation, and being the complete physician of human nature, cures at once both soul and body: he says to the sick of the palsy, "Arise, take up thy bed, and go to thine house"—to the dead he cries, "Lazarus! come forth!" and the body arises from its tomb . . . . . the soul he cures with precepts and gifts . . . . . We, therefore, according to his intention, having become children, are disciplined under his excellent arrangement; which, embracing first the order of the heavens, next takes the direction of man himself, and considering him his greatest work, having already tempered his body in beauty and just proportion, guides his soul to wisdom and moderation, finally regulating his human actions, and inspiring his own goodly order into the whole.

C. 3. The Lord is helpful to us in all ways, both as man and as God; for as God he takes away our sins, but as man he teaches us how to avoid sin. Well indeed may man be dear to God, since he is his own work: other things he called into existence by his fiat merely; but he made man as it were with his own hands, and breathed into him somewhat of his own nature . . . . . Man, then, is loved by God; and how, indeed, should he not be loved on whose account the only born\* was sent from the bosom of

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\* *μονογενὴς*. This word is usually translated *only begotten*; but as the early Christian writers so scrupulously disclaim any such relation between the eternal Father and Son as this phrase implies, it has been thought better to change it for another, though not, perhaps, less exceptionable phrase. No English word probably gives the meaning of the original. Let Athenagoras explain what was the notion attached to their expressions by the early Christians. The following extract is taken from his

the Father;—he, who is the rational foundation (*λόγος*) of the faith.... It becomes us, therefore, to love him who so lovingly guides us towards a worthy life; and, conducting ourselves according to the rules of his discipline, not only to fulfil what is commanded, and abstain from what is prohibited, but to profit by the examples held up to us, so that by avoiding the faults we see, on the one hand, and imitating to the utmost of our power the excellence which we perceive, on the other, we may assimilate our actions to the likeness of our Divine Tutor; so that that part of us which is made in his image and similitude, may arrive at perfection. For wandering as we are in the deep obscurity of life, we need a sinless and discerning guide..... Let us then fulfil the commandments, according to the practice of the Lord: for the Divine Logos himself, being openly made flesh, exhibited both practical and theoretical virtue

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Apology, which was written a little before the works of Clement of Alexandria:—

“It appears to me that I have sufficiently demonstrated that we cannot be Atheists, who preach one self-existent, eternal, invisible, impassible God, who can neither be included nor bounded, and who can be apprehended by the mind and reason alone; containing in himself ineffable light, and beauty, and spirit and power: by whom the universe was made, arranged and governed, through his Reason, or Word (*Δόγμα*), for we consider also that there is a Son of God. But let no one think it ridiculous that God should have a son, for we do not imagine anything respecting God the Father or the Son such as the poets' fable, who make their gods no better than men. The Son of God is the rational power (*λόγος*) of the Father in manifestation (*δέξια*) and efficacy (*ενέργεια*) by him, and through him, all things were made, the Father and the Son being one. For the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father in the unity and power of the Spirit: the mind (*νοῦς*) and reason (*λόγος*) of the Father is the Son of God.—God being from all eternity Mind only, has necessarily the rational power (*τὸν λόγον*) within himself; for he is eternally rational.”—*Athenag. Apol. pro. Christ.*, p. 10.

at once. Taking, therefore, the Logos as our law, we acknowledge his precepts and admonitions to be the shortest and best road towards eternity : for his institutions are full of persuasions, not of fear.

C. 4. “ Delighting, therefore, now more and more in our wise obedience, we give ourselves up to the Lord, whether we be men or women, for there is but one rule for both. Both acknowledge one God, one Tutor, one Church : both are bound to the same temperance and moderation, to the same modesty :—food, —the union in marriage,—breath,—sight,—hearing, —hope,—obedience,—love,—are common to both, and for those who have thus all things in common, grace and salvation are also in common: the love and the training are alike for both. ‘ In this world, says he, (the Saviour,) there is marrying and giving in marriage,’ in which alone the difference between male and female is to be discerned, “ but in that which is to come, it is not so.” There the enjoyments of that friendly and holy life which arises out of marriage, will not be confined to male and female ; but will belong to man generally as a species, when earthly desires and he have parted company ; for man is the general name common to both sexes.

C. 5 “ . . . . To us Isaac was a type of the Lord : he was a youth, that is a son ; for he was the son of Abraham as Christ is of God ; a sacrifice like the Lord, but not like the Lord offered ; for Isaac merely carried the wood for the sacrifice, as Christ carried the cross. Only it was right that Isaac should not suffer, but leave the first fruits of that endurance to the Lord : yet his not being put to death also typified the divinity of the Lord : for Jesus rose after his funeral, not having suffered (in his Divine part), as Isaac was dismissed from the altar.”

## THE PÆDAGOGUE, BOOK II.

C. 1. "HAVING now shown what the general tendency of our discipline is, it shall be my next task to show what ought to be the life of one who is called a Christian, and how his conduct will be regulated by our principles under all circumstances. For where any one has turned away from exterior things, and has been led by the Logos to the culture of the mind rather than that of the body, he must learn to look closely into all that occurs *in* man, and he will be aware that what is external concerns him but little. It is the eye of the soul, man's distinguishing peculiarity, which must be cleansed ; while the flesh in like manner must be kept in chastity and holiness. What, indeed, is more desirable than that being loosened from those things in regard to which we may still consider ourselves as dust, we should press forward towards the thorough apprehension of the Deity. Other men, like the unreasoning animals, may live to eat ; . . . . *we* have been taught by our Tutor to eat that we may live. For the nourishment of the body is not the work we have to do,—nor is sensual pleasure the object of our pursuit, but rather the entrance into those mansions of incorruption whither the Divine Wisdom ( $\delta\Lambda\circ\gamma\circ\varsigma$ ) is guiding us. We shall, therefore, eat simple food as becomes children, and merely study to preserve life, not to obtain luxury. The best nourishment is that which is consistent with an easy digestion, so that the body may be light and fit for service ; and thus growth, and health, and useful strength are promoted : for I am not speaking of the pampered state of the Athletæ, who from the immense eating necessary to their oc-

cupation, injure, rather than benefit their habit of body. Great varieties of cookery, too, are to be avoided; for these engender abundant evils, disordering the stomach, and depraving the taste, and injuring the constitution. Yet we shall find persons daring to call this study of luxury, seeking nourishment merely; when, in fact, they are falling into sensuality. Antiphanes, the Delian physician, considers this variety and research in cookery to be one of the causes of disease; but still they who have no taste for simplicity, abandon a proper moderation in diet for the vain glory of a fine table, and their whole anxiety is for choice dishes from beyond sea. To *me* they appear pitiable, as laboring under a disease; but *they* are not ashamed to employ themselves in celebrating their gluttonous enjoyments: their much sought muræna from the Sicilian straits, their Mæandrian eels, their kids from Melos, their mullets from Sciathos, their Pelorian scallops, their oysters from Abydene; not forgetting the anchovies from Lipara, or the Mantinæan turnips, or the beet grown by the Ascræans: they seek out the shell-fish of the Men-thymnæans, and the Athenian soles, and the Daph-nian flounders, and the dry figs that the unhappy Persian monarch with his five hundred thousand men came to seek in Greece: \* they buy birds from Phasis, and Egyptian snipes, and Median peacocks. All these, after undergoing a thousand changes in the cook's hands, are swallowed down by the glut-ton, who ransacks

The earth, the sea, and the wide-spreading air,  
to satisfy his throat. These insatiable people seem,  
as it were, to include the whole world in a drag-net

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\* See Athenæus, lib. xiv. c. 18.

for their table: and thus they go about gabbling to no purpose, till they have rubbed away their own lives in the cook's mortar. It appears to me that such a man is nothing but one great pouch.'—' Seek not,' says the Scripture, ' the dainties of the rich, for they are deceitful meat ;' and we who seek for heavenly food, must command the stomach, and all that pertains to it. ' Meats for the belly,' says the Apostle, for it is by these that our fleshly and mortal life here is preserved ; but some are bold enough to call these feasts, redolent of sauces and cookery, by the holy name of Agapè.\* ' Call your feasts by their proper

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\* It was customary in the early church for the communicants to bring the bread and wine used in the Eucharist as an oblation on their part: a sufficiency was consecrated by the officiating minister, and if any was left after the ceremony, it was generally consumed on the spot by the communicants. The rest of the oblations were devoted to a meal eaten in the same place, " which," observes Bingham, in his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xv. c. 7, " from the nature and circumstances of it was usually called Agapè, or feast of charity,† because it was a liberal contribution of the rich to feed the poor. St. Chrysostom gives this account of it, deriving it from Apostolical practice. He says‡ the first Christians had all things in common, as we read in the *Acts of the Apostles*; and when that ceased, as it did in the Apostles' time, this came in its room, as an efflux or imitation of it. For though the rich did not make all their substance common, yet upon certain days appointed, they made a common table; and when the service was ended, and they had communicated in the Holy Mysteries, they all met at a common feast; the rich bringing provisions; and the poor, and those who had nothing, being invited, they all feasted together."—" When the Christians in time of persecution, were obliged to meet early in the morning, before day, to celebrate the Eucharist . . . . we find the feast postponed . . . and Tertullian, who gives the most particular account of it, speaks of it as a supper a little before night. " Our supper," he says, " which you accuse of luxury, shows its nature in its name; for

† Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. *ἄγαπην ποιεῖν.*

‡ Chrys. Hom. 27.

names ; term them dinner or supper parties, given for the sake of good fellowship and social intercourse : so the Lord himself called them : but do not confound things ; for the Apostle tells us, If I give away my whole substance, and have not charity (*ἀγάπη*), I am nothing. The law and the word depend on this universal benevolence (*ἀγάπη*), and he who loves God and loves his neighbor also, will have a place at the table in heaven.\*

“ ‘The kingdom is not meat and drink,’ says the Apostle, to show that it was of no earthly feast that he spoke ; ‘ but it is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit,’ and he who eats such food is possessed of that kingdom. Agapè, then, is a pure thing, and worthy of God ; but one of its works is the communication of the goods of life to others : it is not a supper ; but the affording food to those that want it depends on agapè (charity). Let our suppers, then, be simple and speedy, such as shall leave us fit for our work, not a medley of choice dishes artfully prepared, for this last is unworthy of

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it is called *ἀγάπη*, which among the Greeks signifies *love*. Whatever charge we are at, it is again to be at an expense upon the account of piety : for we therewith relieve and refresh the poor. There is nothing vile or immodest committed in it, for we do not sit down till we have first offered up prayer to God ; we eat only to satisfy hunger ; and drink only so much as becomes modest persons. We fill ourselves in such a manner as that we remember we are to worship God by night.”—Abuses afterwards crept in, and the practice was abandoned. It is of this kind of feast that St. Paul speaks, 1 Cor. xi. 20, where he reproves the people for their greediness, each considering his *own* supper only, till the whole became an indecorous display of selfish gluttony. “ One goes hungry,” he says, “ and another is drunken,” or filled.

\* ἡ ἐπουράνιος εὐωχία. Among the Greeks a table was spread for the public on certain festival days, and this was called εὐωχία.

persons under the discipline of our Tutor; since the excess beyond a sufficient nourishment, deteriorates the man both in soul and body. How foolish and unreasonable it is in those who are present at dinners of the people, to wonder and admire, after having known the luxuries of the Logos, . . . how useless it is to rise from the couches, to peep into the dishes, looking out like young birds from the nest; . . . how idiotic to thrust the hands into the sweet sauces, or continually to be stretching them out to clutch at the viands, not to taste, but as it were to devour without measure or manners! By their voracity we might suppose such persons hogs or dogs rather than men: in their eagerness filling both cheeks, and swelling the veins in their faces, till the perspiration flows down, and they are breathless, and oppressed with excess. . . . It is against these persons, who show such an unseemly eagerness in their meals, that the Apostle directs his reproof, saying, ‘Every one is pre-occupied with his own dinner whilst he is eating, and one goes without, and another is full. Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or do you despise the church of God, and cast contempt on those who are poor?’ For these inordinate eaters at the table of the rich cast contempt on themselves. Both do evil: on the one hand, they who tempt their poorer brethren to excess; on the other hand, they who lay open their own intemperance in the sight of their entertainer. It was needful, then, to reprove these unblushing persons, who enjoyed these dinnets with so little discretion and modesty; and the Apostle adds, in much displeasure, ‘Wherefore, my brethren, when you come together to eat, wait for each other; and if any one is hungry, let him eat at home, that he may not come under an ill judgment.’ It is proper, therefore,

to abstain from any servile\* and intemperate habit, keeping the hands, and the couches, and the beard clean, and preserving a proper decorum of the face in eating and drinking, reaching out the hands in proper order, and at due intervals. Speaking whilst eating is to be avoided, for the voice is unintelligible and unpleasant while the mouth is full. . . Neither is it proper to eat and drink at the same time, for it is a great sign of intemperance to confound the proper seasons for each, and we are told, ‘whether we eat or drink, to do all to the glory of God,’ proposing to ourselves a true humility in all things. It appears to me indeed that the Lord hinted at something of what I have been saying, when he blessed the bread and broiled fish, with which he feasted the disciples ;

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\* This word affords a clue to the object in view through this part of the chapter, which sounds so strange to our ears: *δελοπεπεια*, *slave-manners*, was used to express any very great impropriety of behavior; but is especially applicable here, many of the first Christians being slaves, and therefore unaccustomed to those decencies of life which Clement is here inculcating. The hard fare to which they were accustomed made them of course eager to profit by the liberality now first experienced, and we find the givers of the feast blamed for tempting them into gluttony, by setting unwonted delicacies before them. The influence of Christianity in bettering the condition of the Pariah races of the countries where it was preached, was already beginning to be felt: the next step was to be made by civilizing the unfortunate people who, till then, had been left in hopeless degradation. The anxiety of the good Clement, to make his humble converts behave themselves like gentlemen, is amusing: but the lesson was not without its use; for the slave learned probably for the first time, in these lessons, to feel his dignity as a man. Δέλθε καὶ δέλας μὴ ὑπερφάνει. “Do not despise slaves, either male or female,” says Ignatius, “neither let the slaves on their part be vainly puffed up, but for the glory of God serve so much the better, by how much the greater liberty they have received from God. Let them not seek to be freed from common service, lest they should be found slaves to their own desires.”—Ignat. Ep. Pol. § 4.

giving them thus an example of a simple and easily obtained nourishment. But this is not the time for these considerations; we have merely taken advantage of the present occasion to mention these things, that the chosen plants of the Logos may have their proper nurture, 'for though all is lawful to me, all is not expedient,' for they who always push their liberty to its utmost extent, will soon be tempted to go beyond it; and as justice is not likely to consort long with covetousness, so wise self-government is not acquired by intemperance. . . . And indeed those sorts of food are the most fit which can be used as they are, without the preparation of fire, for they are of readier attainment when wanted, and as I said before, a frugal table is desirable; for those who are luxurious in their food, nourishing their own morbid appetites, put themselves under the guidance of a gluttonous dæmon, which I do not scruple to call the dæmon of the belly, which is of all dæmons the worst and most ruinous: for such a person is like them whom we call ventriloquists; the belly, not the mouth, speaks. Indeed, Matthew the Apostle used only grain and fruit, berries and herbs, without any meat; and John the Baptist was yet more abstemious. Peter too abstained from swine's flesh till warned by the vision which bade him think nothing unclean which God had sanctified; nevertheless, the use of these things is indifferent, for 'not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man,' but the taking it intemperately. . . . The middle way is best, as in all other things, so especially in the preparation of our meals, for extreme heights offer but an unstable footing, and we stand safest on common ground; and this common ground is, not to be deprived of necessary things; for natural appetites are kept

within their proper bounds by affording them sufficient gratification.

C. 2. “‘Use a little wine for thy stomach’s sake,’ says the apostle to Timothy, for it is good to bring the help of an astringent to a languid constitution: but in small quantity, lest, instead of benefiting, it should be found to produce a fullness which would render other remedies needful: since the natural drink for a thirsty man is water, and this simple beverage alone was supplied from the cleft rock by the Lord, for the use of the Hebrews of old; for sobriety is especially necessary to wanderers. This is it which is meant by drinking the blood of Jesus, namely, that we participate in the incorruption of the Lord: for the strength of the Logos is, to the spirit, what the blood is to the flesh, the wine is mixed with water, the spirit with the man; and this mixture feasts our bodies in faith, while the spirit leads us on to incorruption; again, the compound of both, of the wine and the Logos, is called the Eucharist, namely an excellent and highly to be praised grace, whose partakers according to faith, are made excellent both in body and soul. The paternal will mystically mingling with the Spirit and the Logos produced the divine mixture, man; for in truth the Spirit dwells in the soul which is guided by him, and the flesh is no less guided by the Logos, on which account also the Logos was made flesh.

“I admire those who have chosen an austere life, and desire no other beverage than water, the medicine of a wise temperance, avoiding wine as they would the fire. I am, therefore, of opinion that it is desirable young men and maidens should, for the most part, forego this medicament (wine) altogether; for to drink wine during the boiling season of youth, is adding fire to fire: and hence arise irregular de-

sires, and licentious conduct; for the circulation is hastened, the veins swelled, and the whole body excited before its time, by the action of wine on the system. The body inflames the soul, and it follows thus the guidance of the pulse, which impels to unlawful license, till very soon the fermenting liquor of youth overflows the bounds of modesty. It is needful then to endeavor to restrain the undue appetites of young men by taking from them the incitements of Bacchus, and rather administering antidotes which should act as a sedative to the soul, and allay restless desires. Those who require a mid-day meal, may eat bread, altogether without wine, and if thirsty, let them satisfy themselves with water only. In the evening, at supper, when our studies are over, and the air is cooler, wine may be used without harm perhaps, for it will but restore the lost warmth: but even then it should be taken very sparingly, until the chills of age have made it a useful medicine: and it is for the most part best to mix it with water, in which state it conduces most to health."—A description of the evils of drunkenness follows here, which need not be inserted, since, alas! even after the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the vice is still common enough to make its consequences but too well known.—"Well then has the apostle said, 'Be not drunk with wine, in which is a shameful licentiousness;' he seems to signify the impossibility of salvation (*σωτηρία*) to drunkenness, by the word *ἀσωτεία*, which, in Greek, means equally luxury, and an incapacity for salvation. And even if our Lord changed water into wine at the marriage feast, he did not permit excess: for as we take food to prevent hunger, so we should drink only what is wanted to quench thirst; or in winter to give the needful circulation to the blood, if it become too

languid. But for this what need to ask for Chian wine, if it be not at hand, or that of Ariusium, or any of those which are fetched from beyond sea, to satisfy a pampered palate? Is not the production of our own country good enough? and in this too a decorous conduct should be observed: not looking greedily at the liquor beforehand, nor drawing it in with open mouth, nor spilling it on the chin, nor on the vestments, in the hasty swallowing; nor wetting the face in the drinking cups by too much eagerness, nor making a gurgling sound in the throat, like the pouring out of water from a narrow-necked vessel, for all this is indecorous and unpleasant to witness. Add to this that the love of drink is hurtful to the person himself. The Scythians, Celts, Iberians and Thracians drink much, being altogether warlike nations; but we, who are a peaceable race, take our meals for the satisfying of our wants, not for the sake of exciting passions; and drink soberly in friendly meetings. How do you imagine the Lord was wont to drink when for our sakes he was made man? Do you think it was in such an unseemly fashion as we do? Do you not suppose it was politely—elegantly—reasonably? for we know that he too did partake of wine, since he too was a man: and he blessed the wine, saying, “take, drink, this is my blood:”—the blood of the vine—for he allegorically calls the Logos, which was poured out for the taking away of sins, the holy fountain of joy. And from what he so clearly taught respecting entertainments, we may learn, that even he who drinks wine, should do so with wise moderation; for it was no drunkard that taught us our lesson; yet that he was wont to drink wine is clear from the reproach of the Jews, ‘behold a glutton and a wine-bibber.’”

C. 3. "Cups of gold and silver set out with precious stones are useless, and only made to please the eye: for if you would drink warm liquids out of them, the heat of the metal makes the handling them inconvenient; if cold, the quality of the vessel spoils the liquor, and thus the drink of the rich man becomes unwholesome. . . . . These precious vases, therefore, which are both rare to be acquired and difficult to be kept, after all are not good for use. And the art of the carver, exhibited with a vain pride in glass, which is only rendered thereby more apt to break, is to be put away from among us. Silver sofas, silver basins and saucers, plates and dishes, beds of choice woods decorated with tortoise-shell and gold, with coverlets of purple and costly stuffs, are to be relinquished in like manner; for as the apostle says, the time is short, and it remains that both they that have wives be as though they had none, and they that buy as though they possessed not. For this cause also the Lord hath said 'Sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and come, follow me.' That is, follow the Lord stripped of all ostentation, stripped of all perishable pomp: what is really thine is goodness:—the only thing which cannot be taken from thee, is, faith in God, and confession of him that suffered—the most precious possession is, benevolence towards thy fellow-men. I therefore applaud Plato, who, when treating of laws, openly condemns such useless luxuries. If the vessel be of earth, will it not be equally useful for ablution? Shall we rest the worse, because our bed is not of ivory, or our coverlets tinted with Tyrian dyes? See now! The Lord ate from an humble dish; and reclined with his disciples on the grass; and washed their feet girded with a towel; the un-

proud\* God and Lord of all things brought no silver foot-bath from heaven for his use ;—when he asked for water from the Samaritan woman, he demanded no regal vase of gold to drink from. . . . In fine, our food, our clothing, our utensils, or whatever else may belong to our domestic economy, should be conformable to the Christian institutions, so that they may be such as will become, and are suited to the person, the time of life, the profession, and the period.”

C. 4. “Far be from our rational social meetings the miscalled gaieties and *facetiae* of the heathen, who are wont to excite the passions by wine, and lascivious songs, and dancing . . . all these things should be dismissed from our sober feasts . . . all indecent sights and sounds, or, to speak briefly, all excesses and intemperance of the senses; for such excesses are, in fact, a privation of them, as far as regards their true use. We should, therefore, take care to avoid all effeminate pleasures, all tickling of the eyes and ears by licentious arts ;—the music that fills our thoughts should be the trump that will raise the dead, and our lyre should be a voice singing praises to God; for man himself is the truest musical instrument for those who love peace. Those, indeed, who are curious in such things, will find many kinds of music suited for different occasions ;—for war, and for awaking the passions, whether of love or rage. Thus the Tyrrhenes in war use the trumpet, the Arcadians the pipe of Pan, the Sicilians the pipe called *πηχτις*, the Cretans the lyre, the Lacedæmonians the flute, the Thracians the horn, and the Arabs the cymbals: but we use one instrument only,—the peaceful word wherewith we render homage to God.

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\* ὁ ἄτυφος. The coinage of an expressive word to translate this may be forgiven, for we have none that will fully render it.

..... Our drinking together for friendship, then, should be of a twofold nature, according to our law: for if thou lovest the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself, let thy first social feast be with God, through the Eucharist, accompanied by psalmody;—the second with thy neighbor for the keeping up of friendship through an innocent and chaste familiarity. Thus the Apostle bids us let the Logos of the Lord dwell abundantly in us; for this Logos is conformable to times, to persons, and to places, and on such occasions is the companion of our wine cups also; so that thus all things may be sanctified to the glory of God, and the good of man: therefore let us put away from our feasts the unseemly excesses of drunken pleasures, the scattering of flowers, and the lascivious songs and music of unchaste women.

C. 5. "Mimics and buffoons\* should find no place in our polity; for since words are the expression of the mind and manners, it is impossible that any one should speak ridiculously unless his mind and habits are ridiculous and frivolous also: for 'the tree is not good which bears bad fruit, nor bad if it bear good fruit,' and words are the fruit of the mind. If, therefore, we exclude those who make this their trade from our society, much more must we abstain from becoming buffoons ourselves; for it would be absurd indeed to imitate the impudence which we are forbidden to listen to or witness. .... We should never willingly make ourselves ridiculous: for how can we without blame study thus to abuse the peculiar and most precious gift of man —even reason and speech?—for it is so that through shameless words, men arrive at shameless actions.

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\* Those who wish to know the kind of persons here alluded to, will find such a character depicted in Xenophon's *Banquet*.

Let our speech, then, be elegant, and graced with wit, but without buffoonery; and our manners refined, not licentious; for to speak briefly, no one can or ought to extirpate the feelings and needs which belong to our animal nature, but they should be duly regulated, and indulged in the proper time and place. It is not because man is a laughing animal, that he is to be always laughing, any more than the horse is always neighing, though to neigh be natural to him. But neither, on the other hand, should we be melancholy and unsocial, though grave. I prefer him, indeed, whose gravity is occasionally lighted by smiles, since his laugh will never degenerate into unhandsome mirth; and if anything unseemly come before him, he will blush rather than smile, showing thereby no sympathy in what is evil: and if he hear of misfortune, he will appear sad rather than pleased at it, for this first is the mark of a wise and humane man, while the latter is that of a cruel and ill nature."

C. 6. "All indecent speech should not only be banished from our own society, but discouraged in others, by sternness of countenance, by turning away the face, by severe derision, and often by yet sharper words. For HE hath said, "Those things which go out of the mouth defile the man," and show him to be a vulgar, untaught, licentious heathen, not, as is proper to man, well-mannered and sober-minded. And since vice corrupts by the hearing and the sight, the Divine Tutor, like the masters of the pæstra, who place a guard over the ears of the youths lest they should be injured, places the guard of sober words over the ears of his pupils, that nothing entering there may hurt the soul, or convey to it the vibration of licentious sounds; and the sight he directs to the contemplation of proper objects, saying, it is better to fall by the feet than the eyes. And the

Apostle, reprobating all immodest language, says, 'Let no indelicate word proceed out of your mouth, but rather what is good,' . . . for it is written, 'by thy words wilt thou be justified, and by thy words wilt thou be condemned.' And what then are these defences for the ears, and these securities for the wandering eyes? It is the conversation of good men, which pre-occupies the ground, and leaves no room for those who wish to mislead. 'Evil communications corrupt good manners,' says the poet;\* and the Apostle expresses it in yet stronger terms. 'Hold evil in abhorrence,' says he, 'but stick close to the good.' Turn away, then, from every immodest sound, and word, and sight; and much more does it become you to be pure from every immodest action, whether in exposing the body indecently, or seeking such sights. For this is the reason, it seems to me, that our Tutor permits us no indelicate language, that temptation to incontinence may be removed as far as possible, thus cutting up with a strong hand the very roots of evil, and forbidding not only the sin, but the inclination to it. And it is not in the mention of these things that the indelicacy lies, when they are mentioned but to be reprobated: neither are the members of the body in themselves indecent; but the ill use we make of them renders them so, and hence we rightly call only that language indecent which dwells pleasurabley on circumstances of evil.'

C. 7. "Far, far be it from us to mock any one, for from this arise strifes, and fightings, and enmities. We hold that such scorns are the companions of drunkenness: and it is well said,† 'do not argue

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\* Menander.

† Eccl. xxxi. 31.

with your neighbor at a feast, neither speak any uncivil word towards him,' for if the invitation to these meetings be given out of kindly feeling, the object of the feast is the promotion of friendship among the guests, and a mental grace thus attends the satisfaction of the bodily appetite. If then we meet for the promotion of good-will towards each other, how is it that buried enmities are dug up again by scornful jests? Better is it to be silent than to contradict, since by this last we run the hazard of adding sin to ill manners. . . . On the whole I advise, that young people of both sexes should absent themselves from such banquets,\* in order that they may not fall into improprieties; for the unusual things they hear, and the improper sights presented to them on such occasions, while as yet their faith is fluctuating, and their very age prevents firmness of character, tend to make their declension towards vice more likely. Well does the wise man say, 'Do not sit with a married woman, nor recline upon thine elbow beside her'—that is, do not frequent suppers, nor eat often with her; for, he adds, 'neither meet with her in wine parties, lest thy heart incline to her, and thy blood push thee to destruction.' And if a woman be invited, so that there is a necessity that she should go, then let her make her outward vestment a decent and modest covering, and within it carry an equal modesty in her heart. But for single women, it is an extreme disgrace to be present at a banquet of men in a state of intoxication."

The writer goes on to give minute directions for a decent and proper behavior in company, recommending quiet and reserved manners; and depre-

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\* i. e. Those of the heathen, or where the practices of the heathen were allowed.

cating all eagerness about food, all boisterous laughter or rude speech, through a long chapter which shows sufficiently the refinement of manners which formed a part of the character of the Christian in his opinion: a notion apparently taken up\* from the contemplation of the politeness and refinement, joined with a noble simplicity, which characterized the manners of that perfect pattern of what man should be, which was then fresh in the recollection of all.

Space will not allow of larger extracts from this part: enough perhaps has been given to show that he who practises Christianity, such as it was when fresh from the lips and example of its Teacher, will want no factitious rules of politeness;—the perfect Christian is the perfect gentleman also;—and the world has allowed this by the set of rules it has established as to manners, which teach men to attain by art and habit, what they would find to result naturally from that admiration and imitation of their Great Exemplar, which it was his object on earth to secure. He came to raise man to a higher state of being, and the refinement and spiritualization of the mind produces a correspondent refinement of manners.

C. 8. Is devoted to the reproof of excessive luxury in perfumes and garlands of flowers. It appears that it was the custom to perfume not only the garments, the hair, and the skin, but also the house, beds, and utensils of all kinds: while the fields he says were stripped of flowers to form garlands that withered on the head, and by their excessive odor almost stupefied the senses.

C. 9. Forbids a no less excessive luxury in the construction of beds, which appear to have been

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\* See l. ii. c. 2.

made of carved ivory, with silver feet, in curious imitation of animals or reptiles; to which were added coverlets embroidered with gold, and every other costly ornament which the wealth of a great commercial city was likely to bring into use. All this the Christian was to forego, satisfying himself with the requisite sleep and food, without being anxious for the body; but rather “keeping the mind intent upon God . . . that man may attain to the grace bestowed on the angels, spending the hours stolen from sleep in striving after life eternal.”

C. 10. Treats of marriage—“its purpose is the bringing forth of children, but its main object (*τέλος*) is the bringing up of *good* children.” Marriage therefore is to be contracted with a view to the glory of God and the happiness of man, by multiplying the number of heirs to immortality: not from motives of interest or sensuality, and when contracted is to be truly and virtuously observed.

C. 11 and 12. Enjoin moderation in dress.

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### BOOK III.

C. 1. TREATS of true beauty.—“It appears to me that the greatest and best of all learning is the knowledge of ourselves; for if any one arrive at knowing himself, he will know God also; and he who knows God, endeavors to resemble him: not wearing gold and long vestments; but doing good and keeping his bodily wants in small compass . . . . For the man with whom the Logos is a fellow lodger, is become like God; and is fair without striving to appear

so. This is real beauty. Heracleitus said truly, 'Men are gods, gods, men ;' and this mystery is made clear in the Logos, for God was in man and man was God, and the will of the Father perfects the internuntius, namely the Logos, who is common to both.\* The Son of God, the Saviour of men ; the minister of the one, the teacher of the other. And the flesh being in servitude, as Paul testifies, how can we ornament the slave ? . . . But the sympathizing God himself set free the flesh from the slavery of corruption and death, bestowing on it the gift of incorruption, and ornamenting it with the beauty of eternity, even immortality. And another beauty of man is love (*ἀγάπη*), for love, according to the Apostle, 'suffereth long and is kind, envieth not, is not rash, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own.'†

C. 2. "It is not therefore the outward appearance of man, but the soul that should be beautified with the ornament of goodness : indeed it may be said that the flesh also should have the ornament of temperance. Women who are anxious for a fair exterior, and leave the interior uncultivated, try to conceal the ugliness of their souls after the fashion of the Egyptians ; among whom you find temples with porticos, and vestibules, and sacred groves ;— and their halls are surrounded with numberless columns, and the walls are resplendent with foreign stones and skillful paintings, and the temples are

\* I have not dared to do more than *translate* these words : the sense appears to be that the Logos being perfect God joined to perfect man, he stood between the two worlds, making God's will manifest to men, which could only be known by means of human speech :—and giving man, in turn, a resting-place for his mind, whence he might address God.

† 1 Cor. xiii. 4. 8.

brilliant with gold and silver and amber, and many-colored gems from India and Æthiopia, and the adyta are shaded with gold-embroidered hangings; —but if you go into the deep interior of the place, and eagerly seek to see what you suppose will be most worth your attention,—the statue which occupies the temple:—a priest of grave aspect, from among those who sacrifice in the holy place, singing a pæan in the Egyptian tongue, lifts the veil a little, as if to show the God; and then there is much room for laughter at the deity honored; for you will not find the God that you are seeking within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent of the country, or some such animal; unworthy of the temple, but fitted for a cavern, or a den, or a marsh; you see the beast rolling upon purple coverlets, and this is the god of the Egyptians. Those women, therefore, who cover themselves with gold, and exercise themselves in curling their hair, and anointing their cheeks, and penciling their eyes, and twisting their locks, and all the other ill-arts of idleness, to ornament the fleshly case, appear to me to be true Egyptians in their proceedings; they attract superstitious lovers, but when the veil of the temple is lifted, I mean the fillets and the vestments, the gold, the paint, and the ceruse;—that is, the covering which is made of these, as if there were true beauty within—all is abominable I well know. You will not there find the image of God placed in the sanctuary, as is fitting, but an adulterous soul inhabits the adyta, and shows itself the real beast; the ape daubed white,—and the old seducing serpent, corroding the mind by the love of admiration, has the soul for its cavern, and fills it with poison.....and as cataplasms and ointments usually announce to us that the person is ill who is thus treated, so the medica-

ments and coverings above mentioned, indicate the sickness of the soul. . . . . for them are needful the theatre, and public processions, and abundance of gazers, and they must loiter through the temples, and walk in the streets, so that they may be seen by all. Such persons take a pride in an appearance that shall captivate the eyes of others, not in the right affections of the heart."

C. 3. The writer reproves the passion for ornament in the male sex also, which among the Greeks had long been carried to great excess. It may be here noticed, once for all, that the practices of the heathen were such as, thanks to the purifying influences of Christianity, we now shrink from even the mention of: and if the stern reproof of the ambassador on Christ's behalf touch upon subjects which the refinement of modern manners has banished from any expression in words, let us not condemn the preacher who lashed the vices of paganism with the severity that they deserved, and won men to Christ by the contrast he presented to their minds between the impurities then in daily practice, and the purity of Christianity;—but rather thank God, who by his presence on earth, first checked the foul disease of society;—and next to God, those fearless martyrs who scrupled not to hold up before emperors and proconsuls, a faithful picture of their manners. The wide difference between the state of things now and then, affords the best comment on their labors; for vice now hides itself from the public gaze, and no longer intrudes itself upon the innocent.

C. 4. Follows up the subject; and the writer points out the persons whose society was to be avoided, in order to the preservation of Christian purity. It affords a frightful picture of the state of society, disgusting indeed to the reader, but not

without its value, even now ; for it shows us what we have been rescued from, and affords fresh ground of thankfulness for that heavenly love which condescended to show man what he might and should be. The allusions constantly made by the fathers of the first and second centuries to Christ as *a man*, amiable, polished and attractive in his manners, testify sufficiently to the influence of the example during the period when his actual human life was remembered, even traditionally. It were to be wished that we still pictured to ourselves the individual *man* whom God himself made our “ensample,” more than that mysterious Logos which seems to have especially chosen a human form for the purpose of communication with man, in order that finite faculties might not be overpowered by the contemplation of the Infinite. The human nature of Christ is needful to man as a stepping-stone by which to approach God, and we should use it as such.

C. 5. Relates to the use of the bath, and condemns the common heathen practice which allowed the two sexes to bathe together.

C. 6 and 7. Show that the Christian is rich in all that constitutes man’s best wealth, and recommend a prudent frugality.

C. 8, 9, 10. Continue the same subjects.

C. 11. Sums up the rules already given with regard to the common affairs of life. “The use of gold ornaments and soft ointments,” says the writer, “is not to be wholly proscribed ; but in that, as in all else, a due moderation is to be observed ; curbing these irrational tastes lest they should lead us into a life of luxury, to the neglect of better things.” . . . . “But it will be said, ‘we are not all philosophers’—do you then not seek after life either? what is it you mean? or how is it that you believe? How can any

one love God and his neighbor without being a philosopher in the best sense of the word ? or how can he love himself without also loving life ? But he will say ‘I have not learned letters ;’ but even if you have not learned to read, this does not hinder you from learning by hearing ; for faith is not the profession of the learned in the wisdom of this world only, but of those who are wise according to God ; for this is a learning which requires no letters ; and its book, which is at once divine, and intelligible to the most ignorant, is called LOVE. . . . There is nothing to hinder the administering the affairs of this world at once handsomely and according to the will of God ; as, for instance, he who buys or sells must never make use of two prices, but should be careful to speak the truth. . . . Let not him who sells swear to the goodness of his wares, and let him avoid oaths also in other things ; and in this the market man and the tavern-keeper may be philosophers, for it is written, use not the name of the Lord in vain matters, for the Lord will not hold him pure who brings his name forward on vain occasions. It is proper that both the woman and the man should come into the church decently dressed ; with no studied steps ; in silence, and with a mind trained to real benevolence ; chaste in body ; chaste in heart ; fitted to pray to God. Furthermore, it is right that the woman should be veiled, save when she is at home ; for this is respectable and avoids offence. And it is desirable not to adopt these manners for the occasion merely, but to imitate during the whole of life the conduct of those whom Christ has made perfect, and be really, and not in appearance only, gentle, and reverend, and kind. Now, I know not how, the manners and appearance seem to change with the place, as polypi are said to change color according to the stones they

are fixed on ; and those persons who have seemed devout while in the place of congregation, put away their apparent change of manners when they leave it, and assimilate themselves to the multitude with whom they are in daily intercourse ; or rather, they are to be accused of having put on a feigned holiness, hiding their real disposition : and thus those who have heard the word of God with a show of reverence, leave what they have heard behind them when they quit the place, and resume the evil habits of the heathen.”

C. 12. Proves the foregoing rules of conduct from passages of Scripture, and concludes with the following prayer, “ Be propitious to thine own children, O Master ! Father ! Charioteer of Israel ! Son and Father both one ! Lord ! Give to us that follow thy commands, that we may be filled with the likeness of the image, and feel the power of the good God, of the mild Judge ! and grant that those whose lives are guided according to thy peace, may be placed in thy city, and sailing over the rolling waves of sin, may be borne quietly on by thy Holy Spirit with the wisdom which is ineffable :—nightly, after the day is past, till the perfect day again, giving thanks and praising, praising and giving thanks, to the One Father and Son, Son and Father, Tutor and Teacher Son, with the Holy Spirit ; for which One all things exist, in whom are all things, through which One are all things, through whom is eternity, of whom we all are members, for whose honor are all ages. The Good in all things—the Fair in all things—the Wise in all things—the Just in all things. To whom be honor now and forever. Amen.”

## STROMATA.—Book I.

HAVING treated at length on the conduct to be observed by the new converts to Christianity through all the affairs of life, the writer next proceeds to trace the character of what he calls the *γνωστικός*, or perfect Christian: of one, namely, who, having long endeavored to regulate his life by the precepts of his Lord, has step by step advanced to a complete amalgamation of his own pleasure, and will, and intentions, with those of the Divine Person in whose steps he has been treading, and thus may be said to possess the key of true science. Other things are mentioned incidentally, and the writer shows, by a reference to the ancient systems of philosophy, that the light afforded to the Gentiles as well as the Jews, was of the kind best calculated to prepare them for that more perfect dispensation, which, affording to all the assurance of what till then had been but hopes, was to finish the civilization of the world; so that, thenceforward, the knowledge and refinement which had seemed to be the privilege of the few, might become the birthright of the many. He thus explains the purport of his work.

C. 1. "I am not unaware of the things that are murmured among some ignorantly timid persons, who say that it is incumbent on us to apply simply to the matters pertaining to the faith, but that external and superfluous things—i. e. Gentile learning—are to be passed over, for that it is vain to trouble ourselves with what is useless towards our great object. These consider philosophy to be the pest of

life, and think it was discovered by some evil mind for the bane of men; I, on the contrary, think that ill weeds cannot be sown by a good husbandman, and in these books which I term Stromata, I shall show that there are abundant indications of the divine origin of Philosophy."

C. 2. "With regard to the works of those who, according to the necessity of the times, had embraced the Greek opinions, I thus reply to the lovers of objection. Whether philosophy be useful or not, it is at least useful to have some firm opinion on the subject; and therefore the study is not without its value: neither can the Greeks be fairly condemned by those who have merely glanced over their writings, since they cannot be understood by any who have not carefully perused them, and unveiled, as it were, the science there taught. For amid their many modes of teaching, their disciples were at least led towards true principles; nor can that philosophy be pernicious, as some contend, by which it is clear that the image of truth—that divine gift—was bestowed upon the Greeks."

C. 5. "Indeed, before the coming of the Lord, philosophy was needful to the Greeks for the purification of their lives, (*εἰς δικαιοσύνην*), and even now it is useful towards piety, as supplying a rudimentary teaching for those who may afterwards receive the faith upon conviction. For God is indeed the cause of all good things: of some pre-eminently and immediately, as of the old and new covenant: of others meditately, by means of reason and argument; as philosophy, which probably he gave to the Greeks before the Lord himself came, in order to call them also to his service. For philosophy acted the part of a schoolmaster to the Greeks, as the Mosaic law did to the Jews, for the purpose of bringing men to Christ;

thus preparing the way for such as were to be farther perfected by him. We know that the way of truth is one only; but into it, as into a great river, many streams flow from different quarters."

C. 7. "It appears, therefore, that the Greek rudimentary instructions came from heaven to man: not, indeed, as I said before, pre-eminently and immediately; but as the showers which fall from heaven light on all parts but cause the growth of very different plants—in some cherishing the produce of a good soil, in others causing a vegetation which soon dries up—so it may be conceived of this. And here the parable of the sower is useful to us: for there is one spiritual husbandman for the human field, who from the foundation of the world sows good seed in it, and who waters it according to the various periods, with the Lord, the Logos: but at different times and seasons the crop is different; for the husbandman does not sow wheat alone,—there being many sorts of useful grain,—but it may be barley, or beans, or peas, or seeds of garden vegetables and flowers. So also may the art of the agriculturist be bestowed in the raising of forest or fruit trees, or in the feeding of different kinds of cattle; the arts differ; but are all, in their various ways, useful to life. Thus, therefore, it is in philosophy,—I do not speak of this or that sect merely,—whatever is taught, by all or any of them, that conduces to piety and wisdom, I term divine; not that part of it which consists of logical questions and paradoxes. . . . The roads to righteousness are many and various, for God, being good, saves in many different ways. If indeed thou wouldest ask the royal and authentic road, thou mayst hear, 'This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous may enter therein,' for though many gates be open, this peculiar one is unlocked by Christ himself, and

blessed are they who are able to enter it, and direct their steps towards well understood holiness (*εν διατητι γνωστικη*).”

C. 9. “Some indeed who think themselves well gifted naturally, will not so much as touch philosophy or dialectics, but not choosing to learn anything from the study of nature, require to have the single and naked faith: as if one should scorn the culture of the vine, determined to have only the grapes. Yet the Lord makes the vine an allegory; from it, by care, and the art of the husbandman wisely bestowed, the fruit is to be obtained; it must be dug, and cultivated, and tied, and pruned; and after employing all the tools and the art of the husbandman, we obtain a good crop. And if it be said that the prophets and apostles did not know the arts by which philosophy exercises the mind, it must be recollected that they were taught by the prophetic spirit telling them hidden things; because as quickness of perception is not given to all, it was necessary, for the clearness of their teaching, that they should themselves be instructed. . . . What say these objectors, then? That it is proper to speak and act without reason?\* we shall act unreasonably then; but all rational acts are done through God, ‘and nothing was done without him,’ it is said; namely, nothing was done without the Logos (reason) of God. And did not the Lord do all according to reason? (*λόγῳ*) Beasts indeed work, compelled to it by fear; but do those whom we call orthodox, proceed in good works without knowing what they are doing?”

C. 10. After recommending a decent attention to rhetoric, so as to be able to expound the truth effectually, but cautioning his readers, at the same time,

\* οὐχὶ . . . ἐκ τῷ λόγῳ γίνεται; a play upon the word Logos.

against the endless arts of the sophists, he adds, that "speech is but as the vestment of the body, actions are the bones and the nerves . . . . the Gnostic therefore will be satisfied if he finds even one willing to listen to him and profit by his teaching."

C. 13. "If then, however numerous the modes of error, the truth be but one, we may imagine the different sects of philosophy, as well barbarian as Greek, seizing on it as the Bacchantes seized on Pentheus, and, having torn it piecemeal, each carrying off a part, and then vaunting itself of possessing the whole. Yet I think the dawn of that light in the east illuminated them all; for it may be shown that all who were eager for the truth, whether Greeks or barbarians, did in fact carry off, some not a little, of that word of truth which they sought . . . . the fragments of which being again united, the perfect Logos, or Truth, is then securely seen and known: for he who can properly be called a Gnostic (i. e., well-instructed Christian) must be well imbued with all knowledge."

C. 17. "But say some, it is written that all teachers before the coming of the Lord were thieves and robbers: yet the prophets who were of old time sent and inspired by the Lord, were not robbers, but ministers. But philosophy, say they, was not sent by the Lord, but stole what it taught. But do we not say that he who having power to prevent a robbery, permits it, is in some sort the cause of it? Now nothing can be an obstacle to God, or oppose itself to Him; for He is the Lord and Ruler of all things; and those, even, who may be partly in apostacy from Him, are made use of by his providence, as the physician uses diseases, curing perhaps an inflammation by a blister. Thus the Providence which is over the whole prevents the acts done by man's free-will

from being sources of harm, or even useless towards good: for the wisdom, and excellence, and power of the Deity are not seen alone in his doing good, for that may be said to be as much the nature of God, as it is that of fire to warm, or of light to illuminate; but chiefly in this, that the things which are devised for evil by the ill-intentioned, are caused by him to finish in what is good and useful; and thus he makes that serviceable, which at first appeared useless, or bad. Thus even if philosophy should have been stolen by a theft, like that of Prometheus, it has in it some spark of fire ready for kindling a light from the embers,—a track of Divine Wisdom to mark the way towards God.”

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## BOOK II.

C. 2. “THE philosophy of the barbarians\* which we follow, is in fact the perfect and true system: in it is included the contemplation of nature, and of all that passes in the world of sensible objects, as well as what is purely intellectual. Its doctrines, accompanied by a rightly ordered polity and discipline, lead us, through that wisdom which is the artificer of all things, towards the Great Ruler of the universe; who is indeed difficult to be apprehended, and hard to be searched out, since he seems always to be receding from our senses as we advance, and always to be at a distance from the pursuer. Yet He, being thus

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\* The reader need hardly be reminded that all who were not Greeks were termed *barbarians* by the Greek writers.

afar off, voluntarily approaches us:—an inexpressible wonder! ‘I am a God near at hand, saith the Lord’—far off indeed as to his nature, for how can the created approach the uncreated? but near by his power, which embraces all things. ‘If any one doeth a secret thing,’ says he, ‘do not I, the Lord, see it?’ He is present to us in the overlooking, beneficent, instructing power which, as it were, leads us by the hand; even the power of God. Wherefore Moses, persuaded that God could never be thoroughly known by human wisdom, said ‘Show me thyself’—and forced himself to enter into the darkness where was the voice of God: that is, into the hidden and mysterious knowledge of the Self-existent. But the place of God is not in the darkness, but beyond all place, and time, or any property of created things: dwelling in no part, neither contained, nor circumscribed. ‘How will ye build a house for me?’ saith the Lord—for he is boundless; and the heavens are called his throne, not because he is there, but because his benevolence rests with pleasure upon his work. It is evident, then, that the truth is veiled; yet one specimen of it being shown, that one will soon guide us to more: how indeed should those not receive it who are both able and willing to learn? and he who has before acquired wisdom, will, through this knowledge,\* become wiser; for it is not the drossy ore of reason that is propounded by the words and the men inspired by God, neither do they twine nets to entangle the young, like the sophists; who, after all, are unable to teach anything of real truth; for they who possess the Holy Spirit investigate the deep things of God. But it is not for those whose

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\* *κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν* by the gnosis, or last stage of Christian initiation.

lives are ill regulated, to drink of that pure fountain of living water. Well did the excellent Heracleitus say that 'there are many who neither know what is passing within themselves, nor, when taught, become wiser, otherwise than in their own conceit,—and does not the philosopher seem here to blame the unbeliever?.... The faith which the Greeks call barbarian, and accuse of being empty and vain, is a voluntary devotion of the mind to unseen things;\* the full assent of piety, 'the foundation (*ἐποστασίς*) of things hoped for; the argumentative proof (*ελεγχός*) of things not seen,' as says the divine apostle. .... Since then we make a choice when we find a thing desirable, the desire for it is an act of the mind, and is in fact an appetite of the intellect:—and if a free choice be the great principle of action in man, then faith will also be found to be an active principle. The foundation indeed of a wise choice is some previous demonstration, and it is made in consequence of our faith or belief in that demonstration; for the great principle of all prudence is willingly following some beneficial course. It is indeed of great moment to the last stage of our Christian life (*ἐις γνῶσιν*) to make a resolute choice: for thus the early contemplations of faith become a science fixed on an immutable foundation. Philosophers define science to be—a habit of mind firmly founded in reason; and is there any other definition of true piety, which has for its only teacher the Divine Reason? (*ὁ Λόγος.*) I think not."

C. 3. "But the followers of Basileides contend that faith is a natural gift; for that being the conse-

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\* *πρόληψις ἐκθεσίς*. This was a term well known in philosophy, particularly in the Epicurean school; *πρόληψις* is, by the Epicureans, explained to be, "the representation of unseen things to the mind." Vide Diog. Laert. in vit. Epicuri.

quence of a præelection to salvation, its teaching is without demonstration, and consists only in an intellectual comprehension. The disciples of Valentinus differ somewhat, and allowing us simple people our faith, claim for themselves, who by nature are heirs to salvation, the *γνῶσις*,\* or perfect knowledge, which they set as high above faith as the spiritual is above the animal. The disciples of Basileides say farther, that faith and election are the same thing; that the whole constitution of earthly faith is consequent on a supra-mundane election, and that thus the hope of every one may be regulated by the sum of faith which is bestowed upon him. But if faith be thus an advantage bestowed in our natural constitution, how can it be the good work of a free choice? and how can he who does not believe, receive a just retribution for his wilful rejection of God's truths? since he is as much without choice in the matter as the believer: and faith and unbelief, having thus no proper difference, neither can incur either praise or blame, if we rightly consider; for both are led to their conclusion by a physical necessity, guided by the overwhelming power of Him who created all things: and the inclination, which is the prime mover in all matters of choice, thus remains wholly idle... But, for my part, I know no animal whose internal will is thus overruled by external necessity; and if it were so, what would become of that repentance of the unbeliever through which he obtains the deliverance from his sins?"

C. 4. "But we, who have received from Scripture the doctrine that a full power of choice or rejection

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\* The *γνῶσις* or knowledge, thus claimed, gave to this sect the title of Gnostics; they seem in the first instance to have been strong predestinarians; afterwards many strange notions respecting the Deity were added to their doctrines.

has been bestowed on us by the Lord, remain in the faith upon a steady conviction, showing that our spirit is eagerly bent on the attainment of the true life, and that we have believed the voice of God. For he who has believed the Logos, or Divine Reason, knows that the thing is true, for the Logos is truth. There are four things, indeed, in which truth may exist,—in the senses, in the mind, in science, and in opinion:—from the union of the mind and sense results science; for the same evidence is common to the mind and to the senses, and sensible things form the steps towards science: but faith, though coming by the road of the senses, leaves uncertain opinion behind; hastening forwards towards what is free from falsehood, and having reached the truth it remains firm. And if any one should say that science is demonstrable by reason, let him understand that first principles are not demonstrable, and are due neither to art nor study, but remain as necessary axioms. The principle and beginning of all things in science as well as elsewhere, must be faith—belief, that is, in some indemonstrable propositions. . . . Science, then, is a habit of demonstration; faith, a grace bestowed, which, through indemonstrable things, proceeds to the universal simple principle, which neither exists with matter, nor is matter, nor subsists in matter. Unbelievers, indeed, as it appears, would drag heaven and the invisible world down to earth, till they could handle it like stones and wood, as Plato says. For all such things they can touch; and they affirm that nothing that is without tangibility and other sensible properties, has any existence at all: defining body and existence to be the same; yet they nevertheless contradict themselves, by allowing that there is something incorporeal and per-

ceptible only by the mind, which they term species or idea."

"In like manner as, in order to learn the art of a mechanic, it is needful, not merely to wish to become a good workman, but to observe his mode of doing things, and obediently to follow his teaching; so the believing in the Logos, whom we term our Master, consists in obedience to his precepts, notwithstanding him in nothing: for how indeed can we withstand God? Knowledge ( $\gammaνῶσις$ ) therefore is faith, and faith is knowledge, for by some divine arrangement they mutually lead and are led by each other, in perfect companionship. Epicurus . . . . considers  $\piρόληψις$ \* to be the faith of the mind; and he defines this word to mean, an application of the mind to something evident, and the understanding of the thing thus evident to us: no one can either search, or doubt, or be of any opinion, or argue a point without this previous apprehension of the subject ( $χωρὶς πρόληψεως$ ). How indeed should any one either seek or learn unless he knows beforehand that there is something to be sought or learned? But he who learns, changes this anticipation ( $\piρόληψιν$ ) into comprehension ( $χατάληψιν$ ), and if he who learns, knows what is desirable to be learnt by means of this anticipating knowledge, he has ears capable of receiving the truth. Blessed is he then who speaks to ears capable of thus hearing, and as certainly blessed is he who is, in like manner, able to hear and to obey; for so to hear is to understand. If faith then be nothing more than this  $\piρόληψις$  of the understanding as to the things spoken, and this be obedience; and if intelligence of the matter be persuasion; then no one learns without faith, because none can learn with-

\*  $\piρόληψις$  strictly means *a laying hold of beforehand*.

out this forefeeling ; and thus what the prophet says\* is shown to be true, ‘ Unless ye believe ye cannot understand ;’ and thus too Heracleitus the Ephesian has paraphrased the same idea, saying, ‘ Unless a man hopes, he will not find what he did not hope.’ ”

C. 6. “ To will is the work of the soul ; action cannot be accomplished without the body.—Repentance is a tardy knowledge of what is right, but the *γνῶσις*, properly speaking, is innocence from the first.† Repentance, then, is the good work of faith, for if a man does not believe that to be sin by which he was at first held captive, he will not endeavor to get free ; and if he does not believe punishment to hang over the transgressor,—salvation to be the portion of him who lives according to the Divine precepts,—neither will he alter. For hope springs from faith. The followers of Basileides define faith to be the consent of the soul to something which does not move the sense, because it is not present. But hope is the expectation of possession, and faith also is necessarily expectation ; but he is the believer who keeps, without transgressing, the things committed to him : for God commits to us his words, and these divine words are his precepts, to which must be joined the faithful observation of them. Such a believer is the faithful servant, (*δελος ὁ πιστος*) whom the Lord praises.

“ Let not the faith then be any longer hastily reproached by the heathen as simple, and vulgar, and every day :—for if it were of human institution, as

\* Is. vii. 9.

† *μετανοια* is an after perception : the derivation of the word affords room for a play upon it, which Clement at all times delights in.

† In all these cases the writer refers to the then state of the world : the first innocence here spoken of is the early profession of Christianity, the repentance is the change from heathen, to Christian belief and practice.

the Greeks imagine, it would ere this have come to naught ; but if, on the contrary, it increases till there is no place where it is not, I say that this faith, whether it be founded on love, or whether, as some say, on fear,—is at any rate divine ; since it can neither be enticed nor dragged away by the love of the world, nor dissolved by present fear . . . . Faith is the foundation of love (*ἀγάπη*), which in its turn leads to beneficence. The change, then, by which an unbeliever becomes a believer, holding the faith in fear and hope, is clearly divine ; faith gives us the first tendency to seek salvation, after that come fear, and hope, and repentance ;—and self-command and patience going first, lead us to perfect love and knowledge.\* Well, therefore, says the apostle Barnabas, ‘ What I have received in part, I am diligent to send to you by little and little, that with your faith you may possess perfect knowledge’ (*τελέιαν γνῶσιν*), and the coadjutors of our faith are fear and patience ; our allies are equanimity and self-command ; and if we remain holily and chastely in the practice of things pertaining to the Lord, with these virtues we shall find, that wisdom, intelligence, science, and perfect knowledge (*γνῶσις*) will be joyfully associated. The elements of this last stage of Christian knowledge being the before-mentioned virtues, it is clear that the most important element of all must be the faith which is as necessary to the Gnostic as breath is to life ; for as without the four elements we cannot exist, so neither without faith can we attain to the Gnosis. And this is the basis of the truth.’

C. 7. ‘But say some, fear is an irrational pas-

\* ἐπὶ τε ἀγάπην, ἐπὶ τε γνῶσιν, *i. e.*, to the last stage of the Christian initiation, in which the believer became one with the Divine Logos ;—wise and affectionate as the well-remembered Saviour.

sion. How say you? can this definition avail when the commandment is given me by reason ( $\deltaια λόγy$ ), for the commandment holds fear over us as a part of discipline, in order that through it we may grow wise. Fear therefore is not irrational, but rather rational, when it persuades to such things as not to kill, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to bear false witness. . . . We will see what are the things which the law bids us fear: for they are not those things which are neither vice nor virtue, such as poverty, sickness, and the like . . . . but real evils, such as adultery, and other vices of that kind,—ignorance,—injustice, that sickness of the soul,—death;—not that death which separates soul and body, but that death whereby the soul is separated from the truth. These are, indeed, great and fearful evils, as well as the actions which proceed from them.

“How should the law not be good which has Christ for its teacher, and which leads us, through its salutary fear, to perfection through Christ? ‘I will not the death of a sinner,’ says he, ‘but rather his repentance.’ . . . And I think he calls ignorance, death.”

C. 9. “And this fear leads both to repentance and to hope: for hope is that confident looking for of the absent good which lays hold on whatever falls out, for a cause of pleasant anticipation: and this we have learned to improve into love. And this love ( $\alphaγάπη$ ) consists in a perfect union of purpose between the reason and the life and actions; or to speak briefly, in the *one mindedness* of life; or in a wide-spreading friendship and kindness joined to right reason in the usage of our companions. Hence we call those *brothers* who are born again by the agency of the same Word ( $\tauῷ ἀντῷ λογῳ$ ). And in

this love also is included hospitality, which is a studied kindness towards strangers. . . . . Since then these virtues mutually accompany each other, what use is there in many words? for we have already shown that faith hopes through repentance; and believes through solicitude; and that patience and exercise in these things, united with instruction, will produce love, which is the completion of knowledge. . . . . The Deity alone is wise by nature; and the Wisdom, which is the power of God, is the teacher of the truth. Therefore the philosopher also who loves the truth, is for that love to be accounted a friend.”

C. 10. “*Our* philosopher then requires these three things for the completion of his character: first, the view of the truth; secondly, the fulfilment of the commandments; thirdly, the instruction of good men; and when these all come together the Gnostic is completed. But if any of these be wanting, his knowledge is lame.”

C. 11. “He therefore, who is a true Gnostic, abstains from the sins of reason and speech, of understanding, of sense, and of action; having heard that he who looks with desire commits adultery in his heart: and having well fixed in his mind that ‘Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,’ and that ‘not what goeth in at the mouth polluteth a man, but that rather which goeth out of the mouth;—for from the heart cometh our conversation.’ . . . . Faith and complete knowledge of the truth teach the soul which receives them to be steady in itself: but the companions of falsehood are change, declensions, apostacy, as those of the Gnostic are tranquillity, permanence, peace.”

C. 12. “In faith as in time, since both are two-parted, we find two indwelling virtues; for the past

time has memory, the future has hope; and we believe that as the past has happened, so the future will; and again, we love as having possessed the past, and holding the future by faith. The Gnostic then, who knows the One God, finds love engendered in himself by all the things around him. 'And behold all things that he made were very good.' He knows this and wonders."

C. 17. "It seems to me that we never cease to understand the Scriptures carnally, continually referring to our own passions the will of the passionless God; supposing it to be guided by emotions like our own: but if we are capable of supposing such to be the case with the great Creator of all things, we err atheistically. As for the constitution of the Divinity, no one is capable of explaining it thoroughly: in order, however, that we, who are in the bonds of the flesh, might understand as much as we are able to do, he spoke to us by the prophets; the Lord accommodating himself thus savingly to the weakness of man. Since then, it is the will of God to save him who obeys His commands and repents of his sins, we rejoice over our salvation; and the Lord who spake by the prophets, appropriates to himself our joy; as he does in the Gospel, where speaking as a lover of man, he says, 'I was hungry and ye gave me to eat, I was thirsty and ye gave me to drink . . . forasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these ye did it unto me'—As then He who needs no food is said to be nourished by the food bestowed on those whom he wishes to be nourished, so He rejoices who is incapable of change of mood, because the repentant sinner, whom he wishes to be happy, has joy in his own repentance. God then being good, and abundantly compassionating his creatures, he gave them commandments through the law and

through the prophets, and now more specially by the presence of the Son, saving and pitying the miserable."

C. 19. "The true Gnostic having been made in the image and likeness of God, imitates him as far as he is able, and omits nothing to increase the likeness which has been bestowed upon him; being continent, patient, just in his life, master of his passions, ready to impart what he has, and as far as in him lies, doing good both by word and deed. 'He,' says the Scripture, 'is greatest in the kingdom,' who both acts and teaches; imitating God in a like beneficence, for the gifts of God are available for all. . . . To be made in the image and the likeness of God, therefore, does not imply any bodily likeness; for it is not lawful to compare the mortal to the immortal, but the resemblance lies in the mind and reason; on which the Lord has stamped his impress, both in the desire to do good, and the power to rule."

C. 20. "Self-command too strives after the divine likeness, so as by patience to arrive almost at a state of impassibility, as may be seen in the example of Daniel . . . and this patience the Gnostic will possess, in so far as he is what his name imports. If he be troubled, he will bless God, like excellent Job . . . if he be cast into the fire, he will not feel it: in word, in life, in manners, he will testify his faith; he lives with God, and is his constant companion in spirit; pure as to the flesh, pure in heart, holy in his speech: the world is crucified to him, and he to the world; he bears the cross of his Saviour about with him, following in his steps; and is become like God, holy among the holy."

C. 23. "The next thing to be treated of is marriage. This institution is the first legitimate conjunction of the man and the woman for the purpose

of bringing up children. We ask, then, is it expedient to marry? This is one of the things which may be characterized according to circumstances, for it may be well for a man to marry, as he finds circumstances make it desirable, or for a woman to do the like: but it is not needful for any to marry any, without concern as to who or what the wife or husband may be; rather is it right that the means, and the character, and the circumstances which may render it proper or improper, and the well-being of children should be considered, and that there be a thorough likeness of taste and disposition, so that the love which ought to be free, shall not be a matter of force and necessity on the part of the wife. . . . Democritus objected to marriage on account of the trouble attending the bringing up of children, and other cares incident to that state. . . . . Others say, 'he who is without children has not completed the perfection of his nature, having no successor in whom he is perpetuated . . . altogether, therefore, marriage is desirable both for the benefit of our country, and for the succession of human beings, and for the perfecting the world as far as in us lies. . . . Even our sickness and our wants point to marriage as their solace, for where is the friend whose sympathy equals that of a wife? In fact the Scripture calls the wife a needful assistance. . . . Marriage too is a comfort as age advances, for then the children cherish the declining years of their parents. . . . Marriage then, is to be kept pure, like some spotless image in its temple, carefully guarded from all pollution, so that in the morning we may awake with the Lord, and lie down to sleep at night with thanksgiving, testifying to the Lord with our whole lives, possessing piety in our souls, and extending our discretion even to the body."

## BOOK III.

C. 6. "THERE are some heretics who decry marriage altogether.... and boast themselves to be herein imitators of the Lord. But this is vain glory, and to them the Scripture speaks, saying, 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.' And to those who abhor marriage, the blessed Paul has said, 'In the latter times some will apostatize from the faith, listening to erring spirits... forbidding to marry, and abstaining from food'—and again he says, 'Let no one abase you into a voluntary system of humility, and parsimony towards the body.'—Many have had children living chastely in matrimony. Peter and Philip both had families, and Philip, again, gave his daughters in marriage: and Paul himself, in one of his epistles, does not hesitate to speak of his wife, whom he did not carry about with him, on account of the giving a greater attention to his ministry. For, he says, have I not liberty to carry about with me a sister, a wife, like the other apostles? For they, in order to their ministry, carried with them their wives, not as wives, but as sisters, so that they might be assistants in their work, by entering into the women's apartments, and introducing the doctrine of the Lord without giving rise to any scandal. And we know that these female ministers are mentioned by the excellent Paul in his other Epistle to Timothy.... 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink,' neither is it abstinence from wine and meat, but it is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. .... Which of the apostles would now imitate the austerities of the

prophets? What true Gnostic would even follow the example of John in this respect?"

C. 7. "The continence which the Greeks teach, is the warring against unruly desires; but according to us it is such an habitual self-command that no unruly desire is felt: but this self-command is only to be attained by the grace of God. . . . As it is better to be in health, than, being sick, to talk about getting well;—and to be in the light, than to discuss its powers; so is true continence better than that which the philosophers teach: for where even one desire has seated itself, yea, though it should never be wrought out into bodily action, the memory is busy with the absent object. Upon the whole, then, the discussion respecting marriage, food, and other things of the same kind, proceeds upon this ground: that what is requisite shall be done, not as the result of desire, but as a part of the human economy: for we are not the children of bodily instinct, but of the will: and he who marries for the sake of the comforts of a family, should exercise a proper continence, and treat his wife, whom he is bound to love, with a modest and virtuous respect. . . . But we are not to imagine that continence relates to one thing only, i. e., the licentiousness of unchastity; for it has relation to all other things which are coveted by a luxurious soul, which, not content with what is necessary, seeks for indulgence. Continence is the contempt of money: continence is the despising of pleasures, and possessions, and spectacles; it is the ruling the mouth, and mastering what is evil, by means of reason. . . . But those who, through hatred of the flesh, avoid the commerce of matrimony, and the participation of proper food, are untaught and atheistic: such continence is folly, and resembles that practised by the heathens; as the Brachmans,

who neither touch wine nor any flesh : or those of the Gymnosophists who are called venerable, who wholly abstain from marriage. . . . The conclusion is, therefore, that he does not sin who enters into marriage according to reason, and the Divine ordinance (*κατὰ λόγον*), if he do not find the bringing up of children a difficulty : for many feel grieved at being childless . . . . and many cannot bear to live alone, and desire marriage on that account, and no one is to be blamed for doing what is pleasing to himself, in moderation, and temperately, therefore any one of us is at liberty to enter upon married life or not, as he thinks fit.”

C. 12. “But whatever may be the kind of life chosen, whether to live in single chastity, or, uniting in marriage, to bring up a family, it is proper to live wisely according to our determination, and not to neglect the duties arising from it . . . . for there are duties pertaining to both. . . . But some one will say, ‘he that is single cares for the Lord, but he who is married thinks how he shall please his wife.’ What then? Is it not in his power, while pleasing his wife according to God’s ordinance, to give thanks to Him? and is it not possible for the husband and wife together to care for the Lord? And as she who is not married is solicitous for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit; so also may the married woman be solicitous to please both her husband and the Lord, in the Lord. Both are holy, both she who is married and she who remains single.”

## BOOK IV.

THE writer begins this book by a review of what he had already written, in which it was his object, he says, to show that "philosophy," such philosophy at least as he himself had learned and loved, "ought to be cultivated by all, whether slave or free, man or woman." He next professes it to be his intention to treat of the Gnostic physiology, as he quaintly terms it: namely, to draw the character of a Christian thoroughly trained, and, as he adds,—borrowing the phrase from the heathen mysteries,—completely initiated.

C. 3. "It is of the Gnostic that the phrase, 'Thou hast made him a little short of the angels,' is to be understood: less in time that is, and inferior in the clothing of his spirit, but equal in immortal life. . . . As all truth is but the reflection of the truth that is in God, so the Gnostic loves truth. . . . and bears cheerfully the dissolution of the bond between soul and body, 'for,' says he, 'I am crucified to the world, and the world to me, and even whilst in the flesh, I have lived a citizen of heaven.'"

C. 4. "He, therefore, who is properly termed a Gnostic, readily submits when the sacrifice of his body is called for; not using any insulting language towards the magistrate who tempts him to abandon his faith, but, as I think, teaching, and even arguing with him.

"How great the glory, and how long the joy,"

as Empedocles says, of those who leave this mortal life. This man has the testimony of his own heart that he is in Gnostic faith towards God, and shows

the tempter that it is vain to strive against the faith of love. The fear of death cannot tempt him to apostatize from the inward obedience which he practises towards the teaching of his Lord, but by his conduct he confirms the truth of his preaching, showing forth thus the power of that God to whom he is hastening. Thou mayest have seen and wondered at his love, which he thus openly shows, being united in grateful affection to him who once bore his nature, and by virtue of that honored blood viewing without horror even the unbelievers who seek his life.\* He has refused to deny Christ through the fear of breaking his command, and this fear is in him a witness to the truth. Neither will he sell his faith through the hope of offered gifts, but in his unbounded love to his Lord he quits life with satisfaction; grateful to Him who has offered him the means of his exodus from this world, grateful to all those who have conspired against him; and have thus afforded him an honest occasion, though unsought, of showing himself as he is: to them by his patience, to the Lord by his love; by which indeed he was already known to Him, who before his birth even saw what his choice would be. Boldly then he comes to his friend, the Lord, for whom he has willingly offered his body,—and to speak poetically—is by our Saviour received with the appellation of ‘dear brother,’—on account of the similitude of their lives. For we call martyrdom the perfect imitation and finish; not that man then finishes his life, as the heathens fancy, but because it shows the finished work of love. . . And if confession of our belief in God be martyrdom

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\* This passage has necessarily been paraphrased; the words literally translated would be scarcely understood.

† A martyr is in strictness a witness in a court of law.

(μαρτυρία) every one possessing the knowledge of God, and leading a pure life in obedience to his commands, is a martyr,—i. e., a witness—in life and in word, whatever may be the mode in which he is set loose from the body; as says the Lord in the gospel, ‘Whoever has left father and mother and brethren, and all the ties consequent upon these, ‘on account of the gospel and of my name, is blessed:’—not signifying hereby simple martyrdom, but that perfect\* testimony which is given by a life regulated according to the canon of the gospel, through love for the Lord. . . . We say farther, that those who throw themselves in the way of death,—for there are some who belong to us only in name, who hasten miserably to throw away their lives in hatred to their Creator,†—these we say destroy themselves, but are not martyrs, even though they should undergo a public punishment: for they have not preserved the character of witnesses to the faith; not knowing the true God, but throwing away their lives vainly, like the Gymnosophists of India.”

C. 5. . . . “Some things are to be chosen, not on their own account, but for the sake of the body; for the body requires care on account of the soul, to which it is related. He who would lead a gnostic life, therefore, must learn which of these things are fit and proper, for that all pleasures are not good, is clear: since we know the fact to be, that some are sheerly evil . . . and thus pain is not to all an evil; for on some occasions we choose, though at others we avoid it. The choice and the avoidance, then, are

\* γνωστικήν.

† The heresy of Valentinus, afterwards called the Gnostic, asserted that the Δημιουργός or Creator of the world was an inferior and evil Being, or principle.

made in consequence of a sound knowledge of the circumstances and their consequences: and it follows that the science which enables us to choose wisely, is the main good; not the pleasure itself, which is only sometimes chosen. Thus the martyr chooses the pleasure he obtains through hope, and sets it against present pain."

C. 6. "I am of opinion too, that the gnostic life requires that we should not come to the saving Word through fear of punishment, or even through hope of the gifts promised in the gospel, but on account of its intrinsic excellence. . . . The Saviour refers all things to the discipline of the soul, as when he said that the widow who brought her all to the treasury, though it was trifling in amount, gave more than the rich who offered only of their superfluity. . . . 'Blessed are the meek,' says he; that is, those who have triumphed in the battle carried on by unbelief in the soul, and have subdued anger and all the other passions which follow upon it,\* i. e., unbelief: for the meek whom he praises are those who are so by choice, not by any necessity of nature. . . . 'Blessed are those that weep' . . . but there are two kinds of repentance: for one kind, and this is the commonest, results from fear of the consequences of evil deeds: the other, much more valuable, originates in the horror we feel at seeing our souls unworthily stained with sin: but yet God, who is never weary of benevolence, will accept either. . . . 'Blessed are the compassionate' . . .

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\* Modern Christians might perhaps profit by seriously reflecting that the good Clement considers anger and other transgressions consequent on indulged passion, as a consequence of *unbelief*. In fact, does a man ever pursue any course which he thoroughly believes will end in certain evil and suffering?—Those who give way to their passions then, *do not believe the gospel*.

but compassion is not, as some of the philosophers take it, a mere grief for the sufferings of others . . . for those indeed are compassionate who *act* kindly: but yet those also, who wish so to act, but are disabled from so doing by poverty, sickness, or age, are also to be considered as compassionate; for their will is the same, and it is only the means that are wanting... ‘Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God’ . . . and if we consider this truly, we shall perceive that knowledge is the guide in the purifying of the soul, and is the giver of energy for good actions; for many things are good or evil according to circumstances. . . . . He wills therefore that those who come to God should be pure from unruly corporeal desires, and holy in their contemplations, so that nothing debasing may adhere to what should be the leading power in man, i. e., the soul. The Gnostic, therefore, accustoms himself to such contemplation; conversing with God in all purity, until he is habitually so free from passion, and so assimilated to the Deity, that he may rather be characterized as being himself science and knowledge, than as merely possessing them.’ Other virtues are treated of by Clement in the same spirit, showing that motives rather than actions, should draw the attention of the Christian; but want of space forbids the going through the whole. He thus concludes his character of the Gnostic Christian.

C. 7. “Plato describes the just man as happy notwithstanding the severest torments:—the Gnostic, too, has fixed his aim ( $\tau\varepsilon\lambdaο\varsigma$ ), beyond this life, in the being happy and blessed for ever, the regal friend of God. Hence dishonor, exile, proscription, or yet more,—death,—cannot tear from him that free and overpowering love towards God which bears all

things, and is patient under all things, because it believes all things to be administered by the Divine prescience . . . The first grade, therefore, is that instruction through fear, by means of which we abstain from unjust actions; the second is, hope, by which we follow after what is good;—and love completes the course of Gnostic instruction . . . Thus armed, the Gnostic exclaims, ‘O Lord, give the occasion, and accept the manifestation of my love! Let it be severe, for I can despise dangers through love towards Thee.’”

C. 8. “It is in the power of him who lives according to our institutions, to philosophize without letters, whether he be barbarian, or Greek, or slave, or old man, or child, or woman; for temperance and self-command are duties common to all who embrace it; for one and the same virtue belongs to one and the same nature: and there is not one human nature for the woman and another for the man, but it is alike in both; since if it belonged only to the male to be just, and moderate, and whatever else is consequent on this character,\* then would the woman rightly be unjust and intemperate; a thing not allowable to be thought, even: moderation and justice, and all the other virtues, therefore, are alike in the man and the woman, the slave and the free . . . Not that we affirm the female to be the same as the male, as far as sex goes . . . for the bearing of children is the part of the woman, as the female; not as man, taken generically:

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\* It was made a question by Aristoteles whether women possessed the capability of virtue: and it was the very common persuasion of the heathen that their nature was inferior to that of the man. Clement, therefore, sets himself to combat this most pernicious error, and to show that the soul is of no sex, and that male and female are alike before God. See Gal. iii. 28.

but in those things which belong to the soul, man is alike, whether male or female; and both sexes are intended to arrive at the same virtue. . . . As therefore we consider that the man ought to be temperate, and above sensual pleasures; so we also hold that the woman should be temperate, and unsensual . . . Wherefore, even against opposition and impending punishment from the husband or the master, both the slave and the woman will philosophize: for he is free over whom the tyrant death is powerless, and who cannot be deterred by the fear of worldly ills from the worship of God . . . and if it be good and praiseworthy in the man to die for the sake of virtue, of freedom, and of his own soul, so also is it in the woman;—for this is the part, not of the male sex merely, but of the good generally.

C. 22. “The Gnostic is clear-sighted and intelligent, and his virtue consists in the performance of specific good actions, not in the mere abstinence from evil ones . . . nor even in the doing good ones through fear . . . nor for the hope of promised honor . . . The Gnostic does good out of love, and chooses what is right because it is fair in his eyes . . . and if it were possible that eternal salvation could be separated from the knowledge of God, and he had the choice of one or the other given him, he would choose the latter in preference to the former.”

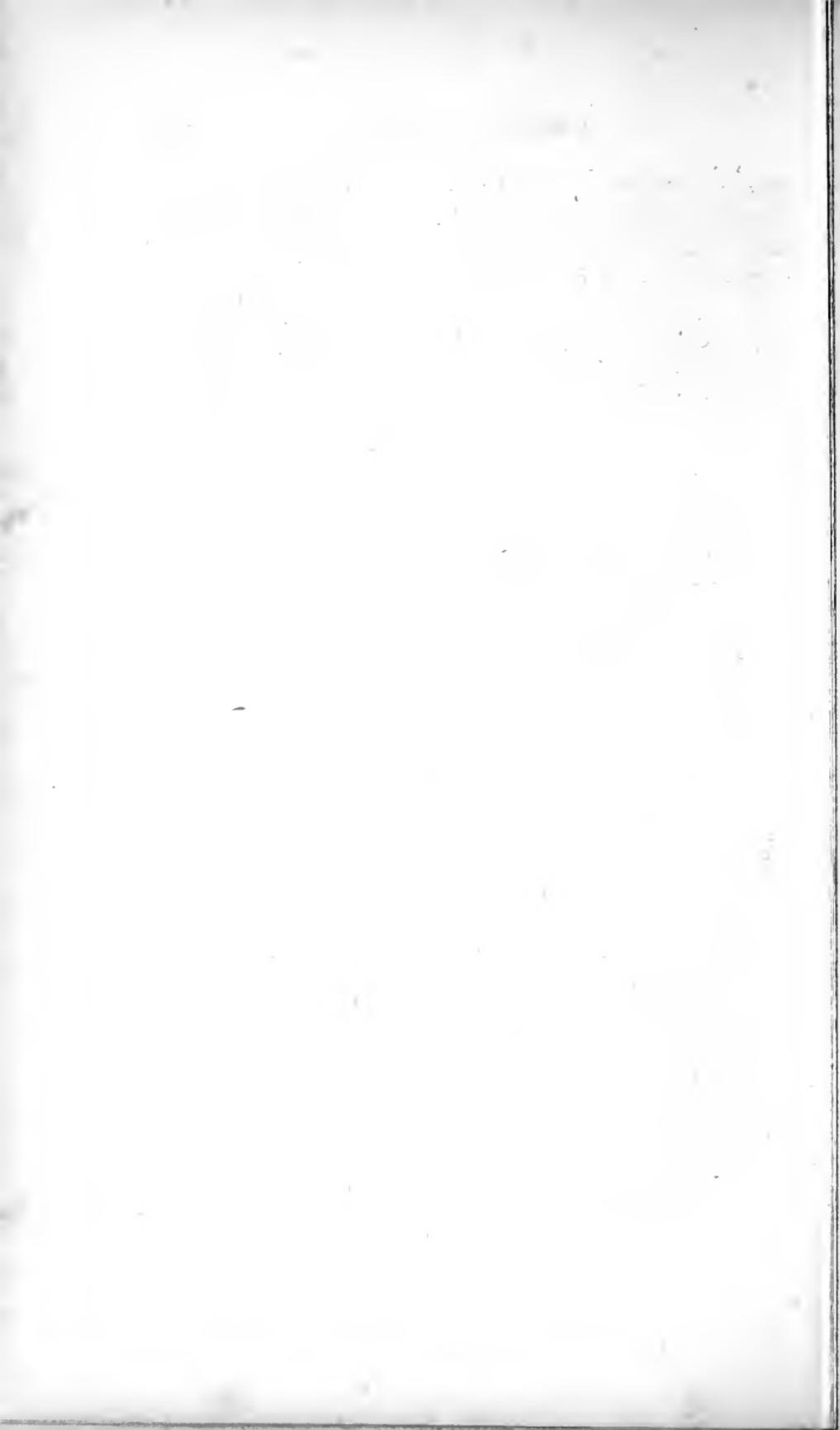
C. 26. “Those are not to be praised who inveigh against the creature, and condemn the body as bad; not seeing that the constitution of man is such as to fit him for the contemplation of heaven; that the very organs of sense tend towards knowledge; and that all his parts and limbs are fitted for the pursuit of what is fair and good, not of sensual pleasure. Hence the highly honored soul of man has been

chosen by God as his habitation, and he has been thought worthy of the Holy Spirit's sanctification, both of body and soul; being perfected by the restoration\* effected by the Saviour."

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\* *καταρπίσμω*. This word implies a restoration like that of a dislocated joint, which, by being replaced in its socket, moves again at the command of the soul.

THE END.



# SMALL BOOKS ON GREAT SUBJECTS.

EDITED BY A

FEW WELL-WISHERS TO KNOWLEDGE.

No. VIII.



*Cornwall, Carolina, January*

AN EXPOSITION

OF

VULGAR AND COMMON ERRORS

ADAPTED TO THE

YEAR OF GRACE MDCCXLV.

BY THOMAS BROWN REDIVIVUS,

WHILOM KNT. AND M. D.

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## TO THE READER.

IN ancient times it was held as a matter of faith by many, that man's spiritual part did not go at once to its ultimate state of existence, but did undergo a kind of purification, by the passing from one body to another of a better or worse kind; until, being thus corrected of its earthly desires and propensions, it was fitted for its final beatitude. Pythagoras, it was said by some, had good recollection of the time when his soul was far worse bestowed than in that body wherein he preached temperance and virtue so effectually to the citizens of Crotona, as to raise that city at once to greatness, and its people to a merited superiority over their neighbors of Sybaris: —a body kept in such holiness and purity by its beatified inhabitant, that we may well believe it fitted for that resurrection of the just, where “they that do well shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.”

Good reader, I will not ask thee to believe that Pythagoras hath revisited earth under my semblance, albeit my wish to amend the morals, and increase the wise knowledge of my cotemporaries, be not less lively than his; but merely to give me so far credit as to believe for the nonce, that the pen which doth now address thee, is that of Thomas Brown, whilom Doctor of Physic; who began his inquiry into vulgar and common errors some two centuries back, and having laughed somewhat at the odd blunders in science made by the men of that age, hath now,

in return, somewhat to blush for his own. We are always wont to inquire anxiously what men of other lands have to say concerning us; rightly judging that they who have been brought up in other habits, will notice the strangeness or excellencies of ours, with a sharper observation than that of one born and nurtured in the country: there is, therefore, good reason to think that the opinions of a man of another age stepping onward into this, will not be without their value to such as can forget their own pre-judgments so far as to profit thereby.

Within the last two hundred years the very face of the world is changed; and he who should rise at once from his grave, passing through no intermediate stage, and look on the nineteenth century with the eyes of the seventeenth, would go near to expire again with amazement at what he saw; and would despair of ever, in the short span of one life, attaining to the knowledge of all the discoveries which have graced these later times. But let the same man go into society, and he will find things far less changed there, than, with such a change in all else, there would be good cause to expect. True it is, that there is more of refinement in expression and manners: but the unthinking many have gained, on the whole, far less from the deep thinking few, than,—taking a theoretical view of the case,—might in fair reason have been looked for; and the same error which my Lord Bacon doth so feelingly complain of in his time, remaineth very little corrected in this: namely, a “mistaking or misplacing the last or farthest end of knowledge; for men,” saith that wise writer, “have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for orna-

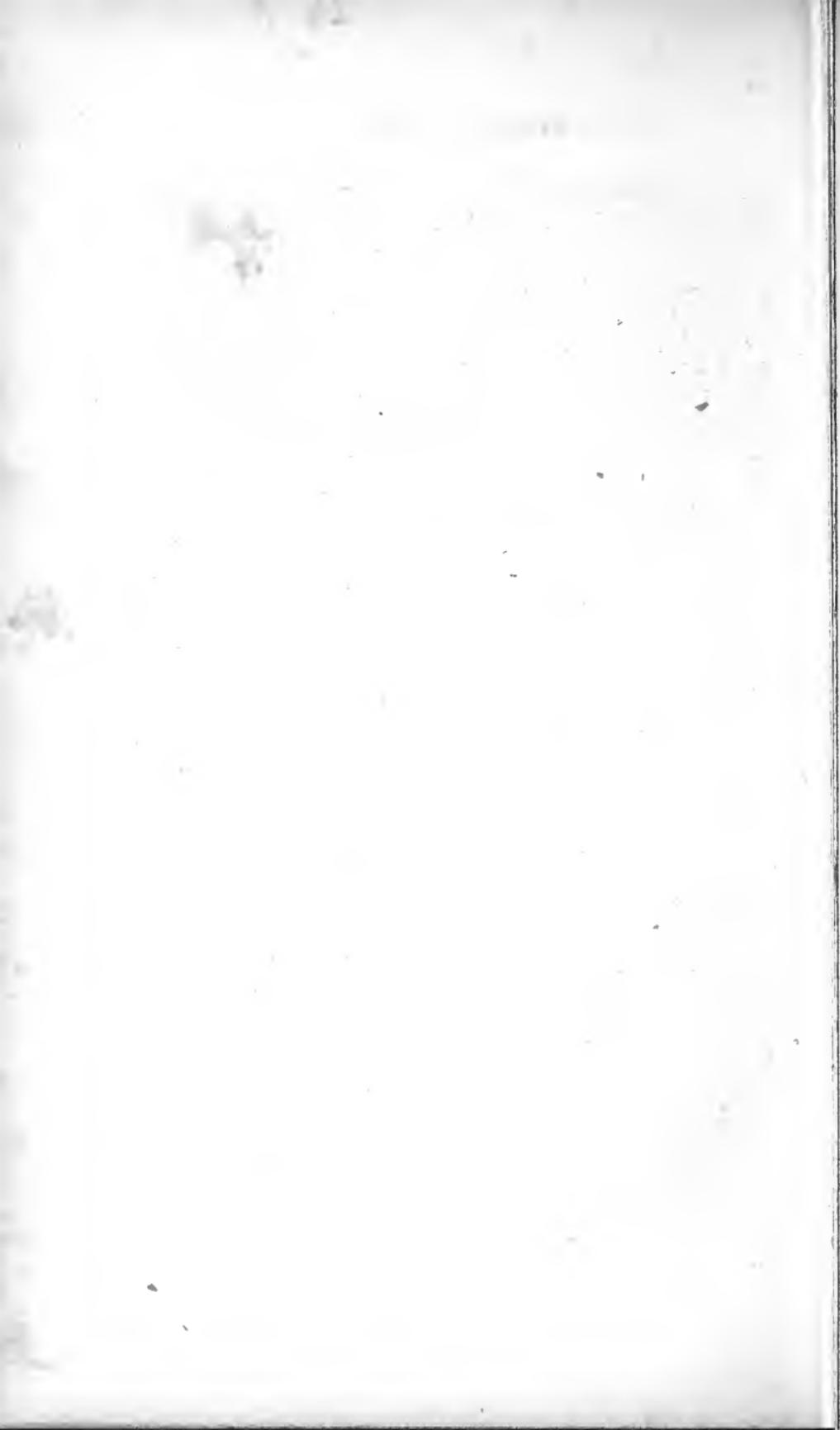
ment and reputation ; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction ; and most times for lucre and profession ; and seldom to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men ; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit ; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect ; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon ; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention ; or a shop for profit or sale ; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man's estate."—In brief, learning is sought as the means to an end,—and that end is too usually a worldly one ; not for the love of knowledge *per se* ; nor for the elevation of the soul, by the giving it strength of pinion to soar above the things of earth ; neither if it settle down towards lower regions, doth it come, bird of paradise-like, radiant with the hues of heaven, to make us love the skies it hath left ; but it descendeth the rather like the fuliginous particles of the smoke which hath soared upwards for a time, dark and unlovely ; with much talk of utility, but little of benevolent usefulness.

Neither do I find that the great advance of science hath done much in the rendering paedagogy more facile and pleasant either unto the teacher or the learner : for I perceive youth to be instructed much in the same guise as was the practice of two centuries back ; by the influence of fear rather than love. Neither, though somewhat hath been done towards the affording to the poor a slight taste of letters, hath such advance been made towards elevating them to that state of mental enlightenment which is the birthright of every human being, as becometh a great and wealthy state, such as England doth now

boast itself to be. Neither do I see that the state of woman-kind is such as becometh a period wherein the empire of mind over matter is so loudly proclaimed. For those disabilities and obstructions of law which were laid upon women in semi-barbarous times, by reason of their lack of physical strength for martial exercises, remain unaltered; and their education is for the most part conducted in such sort, as to debar them from that instruction in liberal science, which shall best fit them for the performance of their many and great duties: nay, it is not rare to hear such as have freed themselves from the shackles of idle prejudice so far as to acquire a competent knowledge of science, ancient and modern, rather flouted at, as if they had done some evil thing, than marked as an ensample for others. And in these things I judge that this age hath not made the advance which it claimeth to have done, in the policies of civil life, and consequently that it walketh lamely as it were, seeing that on the one leg it standeth high, while the other is curtailed of its just proportions.

Nevertheless it promiseth well for this age, that of all the common errors which in former editions of this work the author took occasion to remark on, scarcely any one remaineth unto this present day; and I may surely indulge a hope that if their forefathers suffered themselves to be argued out of their prejudices, and flouted into the receiving of the truth, in so many instances; the existing generation will not be less candid, and take in good part what haply may be more rudely said than is the wont of this age and country. Verily, if Truth have lain in the well ever since the time of Democritus,—and, indeed, before his time, for he said she was then so deep that it was past his power to hale her up therefrom,

—the wonder is not great if the language she speak be somewhat antiquated. Yet is her voice when she speaketh, so musical to human ears, that the words she useth matter not much:—to my readers, therefore, I leave it to consider if in these things which I have noted, it be the voice of TRUTH which speaketh or not: and if, indeed, they should find it to be so, then haply they may profit thereby, to the putting away of prejudice so far, that, as this my record of common errors is of so much less bulk than the last, so in the next age there shall be none occasion to make any farther edition thereof.



## OF THE CAUSES OF COMMON ERRORS.

To him who proposeth unto himself the correction of some of the errors which he continually findeth current in the world, an inquiry into their causes is a natural beginning: and, doubtless, as is set forth in the first editions of this work, the natural infirmity and deceptibility of human nature have their share therein: but less so in the present perihelion of science, than formerly. For I do now perceive, when I look deeply into the causes aforesaid, that much of the error now current is founded on sayings delivered commonly in society, which yet any one of that society could well correct by his own proper knowledge, were he so minded. I hold its prevalence, therefore, to be rather the consequence of an indolence that *will not*, than of an ignorance or dullness that *cannot* examine the grounds thereof.

When the patterns of weights and measures were laid up in the sanctuary of the Hebrews, for the prevention of mistake or fraud, we find very soon that the cubit and the ephah grew to be so much shorter and less in the hands of the people, that the difference came at last to be acknowledged and registered:—so unwilling are men to keep up to the full measure ordained by God: and thus it is that we, too, having our measure of life laid up unchangeably in the gospel, have come to have a worldly measure also, which falleth far short of it: and this is allowed and acknowledged—but hath God allowed it?—and when we go from this world with some of these current errors in our mouths, and measure ourselves

thereby, are we certain that the measure of the sanctuary will not be brought forth to falsify our bad calculation? nay, are we not sure that *it will*?

Methinks, therefore, as errors of science are every day fading away before the greater light which seemeth to be leading us on, like the lengthening days of May, to the summer-tide of knowledge, where there shall be no real darkness;—it is of more import to expose the falsity of some of these current sayings, and to bring forth into common use the cubit and ephah of the sanctuary, seeing that sooner or later we *must* measure our course of life thereby;—than to combat many of those mere popular errors in science which are only dragging on a lingering existence, and which will expire altogether in a very few years without any aid of mine. And if by such an examination of common sayings that have thus far passed unquestioned, I may lead men generally to look a little more narrowly into their opinions on such matters; and cultivate in them more rational and logical modes of thinking, so that fallacies shall not, as heretofore, pass undetected through an indolent fear of the trouble of inquiry,—I shall hold myself to have done good service to the world, and not be without hope that I may thereby have rendered my own last account somewhat more satisfactory.

As for other errors of less concernment, some have arisen from witty sayings, which have come to be repeated for the neatness of the expression, till they acquired the weight of a maxim: and some have had their birth in too much learning; inasmuch as not a few writers have treated their own language contemptuously, as deficient in grammatical forms; and so in studying to write Latin, they have forgotten how to write English; and thus have fallen themselves, and led others into notable errors of phrase;

some of which out of love to my native tongue, which I hold to be rich in power of expression, when spoken in its purity, I shall take occasion to notice: and doubtless, if we look narrowly into men's notions, Ignorance also will be found to have a large family of errors that call him father; but as I have before said, they are a sickly brood, not likely in most instances to reach maturity; for the which cause I am the less careful about them.

## OF VULGAR ERRORS IN THE WAY OF COMMON SAYINGS.

*“A young man must sow his wild oats.”*

A BAD and profitless crop at any time, but worst when sown in a virgin soil ; for then do they grow more rampant, so as utterly to choke all the seed planted by the care of the Divine Husbandman. But to speak of this notion without a figure,—for methinks it is on account of its foulness that it hath been so veiled ;—and sometimes it is better to show bad things in all their ugliness, that men may eschew them,—what doth this phrase of “sowing wild oats” signify ? Doth it not amount to this,—that man, having lost his primeval innocence, shall take good care that he never regain it ? That he doth well, if, after having given all the cream and richness of his life to Belial, he shall haply carry the sour skim milk thereunto God ?

I remember once hearing one who had thus done, and was now grown old, lament himself, in that death was drawing nigh ; he being then suffering with gout and other infirmities of age, come upon him all the sooner for the intemperance of his youth : to the which it was answered, that death was a happy deliverance from the pains of protracted age, and that even had his life formerly been such as he would now wish had been otherwise, yet that for many years he had had no cause for uneasiness on this head ; seeing that he had doubtless repented of the past. Methinks I see his countenance now, and hear the tone of his voice when he replied to those

well-intended consolations—"Yes, I forsook my sins when my sins forsook me,"—and he paused as if fearing to strengthen by utterance the thought which oppressed him; but after a moment he added, "how can I tell that *such* repentance is of any avail?" and then, though his age and health required rest, he plunged again into the dissipation of company, in order to get rid of uneasy remembrance, and it may be, of still more uneasy anticipations; and so he died—he had "sown his wild oats," and gathered the fruit.

But say some, and they are women whom I hear say so,—the more shame and the pity when they who should be the salt of the earth, have so far lost their savor as to allow it to putrefy,—"Men must know the world, and they will avoid vice the better for having tasted, and found what it is like." "Good madam," I would answer to such an one, "there have been persons who have swallowed arsenic, and recovered; but did any one ever think that it was needful in order to the avoiding of that poison in future, to try how much danger and suffering attended the taking of it? Or did he ever find his constitution amended thereby?" Man's bodily frame is too complex in its mechanism to be disordered with impunity; and it may well be a question with an anatomist, who knoweth the functions of the brain, and the extreme delicacy of that organ, whether it ever entirely recovereth from the effects of this devilish apprenticeship. Neither doth the youth thereby gain knowledge of the world; for, thanks be to Heaven! bad as it is, it is not all bad; and I think the larger portion of mankind will be found to have enough of good in their compositions to pose a man shrewdly, who hath known only evil. A person may be innocent without being ignorant: he

may know, alack!—who can move in the world and not know it?—that there is much of vice, and many evil men and evil things around him: but he may at the same time dislike and avoid such society. It hath been said by ONE whom none will gainsay, that “no man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.” Men do not become vicious till they have learned to like vice; for if they did not, it is too ugly in its features and frightful in its consequences to be entertained for a moment. What security is there then, that after having cherished this depraved appetite for a season, the order of nature will be reversed in this one instance, and that habit will not in this, as in other the like cases, strengthen the propensity to what hath been oft times done, till it becometh more and more difficult to avoid the doing it again?

I should like to ask such as hold this pseudo-knowledge of the world so especially needful to man’s well-being, what place in that future world which all profess to believe in, this science is likely to fit them for? Sure I am that if our conversation be destined to be with just men made perfect, as in Sacred Writ we are told it shall be, we shall find this kind of knowledge strangely out of place in such intercourse; and I question much if such a training would not go far to exclude a man from all good society there; as being too vulgar and ill-mannered a soul to be admitted among such as had been accustomed to keep good company. It is a convenient doctrine that men hold, that the happiness or infelicity of the next world is an arbitrary reward or punishment, which can be bestowed at the will of the Judge; whose compassion being finally moved by a few tears and professions of sorrow, he will

thereupon remit the one, and bestow the other. But what if we should find that when the earthly mould is broken, the soul remaineth with all the ugly features there given it, settled and fixed for ever? Will not this so-called knowledge of the world then remain upon its front, as an unseemly wart or wen, quite foreign from its true beauty?

Methinks the most careless libertine would shrink from the thought of remembering to all eternity,—even if he had no other penalty to fear,—all the scenes of gross vice he had witnessed, all the innocence he had undermined; all the misery he had been the cause of: yet if we believe in a future judgment, we cannot suppose that the remembrance of our past deeds will ever be wiped out, for we are to receive “*the reward of the deeds done in the body*, whether they be good or whether they be evil.”

But excesses of this kind are a mark of spirit, it is said; and some young damsel will be found to remark that she doth “not like an effeminate man.” Fair lady, did you ever hear of one Jesus of Nazareth? Did any of the most famed heroes of ancient or modern times ever meet torture and death more calmly than he did? or ever bear himself before prejudiced and unjust judges with more noble self-possession and dignity? Did HE want spirit? HE, from whom the scourge of the Roman drew not a sigh; HE who conversed calmly on the cross! was HE effeminate? His company was sought by the wealthy and the great, the poor carpenter’s son! could HE be wanting in elegance of manners? Yet how patient, how gentle, how kind was he in all the relations of life! how pure, how holy was his conduct! He, the young, the courted guest; the idol of the people, who might have set the crown upon

his brow at any moment of his career, if he would but have given the word! If you have ever heard of this person, look once more at your man of spirit; place the two characters side by side—but I will not insult your judgment by drawing the parallel: suffice it that Jesus of Nazareth, though “tempted in all things like as we are;” young, followed, fond of female society, and joining in all the pleasures of social life,—*sowed no wild oats.*

“*A good fellow, nobody's enemy but his own.*”

It hath oft times been matter of wonderment to me how many phrases do come to be received as current coin in the world, which for certain were never lawfully stamped in the mint of either religion or reason: and among these brass shillings of society, I know none that better deserveth to be nailed to the counter than the one above placed; for many an idle young man hath, before now, found it the last in his pocket, and haply hath exchanged it for a pistol bullet, thinking himself a gainer by the bargain.

If man grew to a rock like a limpet, then might he haply be his own enemy without any great harm to his neighbors; but he who liveth in society, and faileth to perform his part aright in the station assigned to him, doth all that in him lieth to destroy the body politic. He who is delivered over to vice and drunkenness—for such, being interpreted, is the meaning of a good fellow who is only *his own enemy*,—setteth a bad example to his dependents; squandereth his fortune on unworthy objects, to the neglect of all that he might and ought to have done towards the relief and advance of the deserving; plungeth his family into difficulties: grieveth, shameth, and perhaps starveth them; ruineth his health, so as to make himself a burthen to those about him;

and finally, after having been a bad citizen, a bad master, a bad husband, a bad father, sinketh into the grave with a soul so irrecoverably poisoned by habits of sensuality and gross earthliness, that it would seem rather fit to rot with its putrefying companion, than to enter into any region of spiritualized existence. And this man who hath fulfilled no one duty, but on the contrary hath spread around him a dank atmosphere of sin, is called "a good fellow," merely because he hath done all this with an air of reckless gayety, which showed an utter absence of any feeling for the beings he was rendering miserable! Verily the world's measure is wofully short of the standard cubit and ephah of the sanctuary.

*"We must do as others do."*

So doubtless said the people before the flood, and the natives of Sodoma; and from their time downwards, half the evils of the world may be tracked to that gregarious propensity in man, which maketh him, like a silly sheep, leap because others leap, notwithstanding that he himself seeth no just cause for any such feat of agility. But "what will people say?" exclaim the weakly minded. "Good sir, or madam," I would answer, "people think far less of your concerns than you imagine; or even if they do bestow a passing notice on them, there is so little of unanimity among men, unless where the great instincts of our nature are concerned, that oft, yea, most times, what one party blameth, another will praise." True it is, that it concerneth all who would do good in their generation, so far to make this inquiry as that they may not *needlessly* give offence, even to the conceits and prejudices of their neighbors; because so to do doth not only militate against the rule of Christian charity, but inasmuch as it may

cause their “good to be evil spoken of,” doth notably diminish their usefulness : but to let this consideration of what others will say concerning us, be, as it often is, a worm at the root of good intention, a barrier across the path which leadeth to our goal, —what is it but to give idle talk more importance than conscience, and to set the fear of man to weigh against the fear of God, in the balances of this world.

In the greatest matter that ever was enacted on this earth, down to the most insignificant occurrence of ordinary life, this unhappy question hath forced its way, to the manifest moral perturbation, if not to the actual overthrowing of the inquirer. It was an idle and common occurrence that the daughter of Herodias should dance ; and it was a no less common occurrence that a king, being drunk, should make a promise whereof he foresaw not the consequences ; but it was the fear of what the lords who sat at meat with him *would say*, that made Herod imbrue his hands in the blood of an innocent man, even when his better nature started back from the commission of so heinous a crime. And thus much for a trivial occurrence where the dread of the idle judgment of man led to bitter consequences and deep guilt : but there was another and a greater occasion where this concernment for the ill-digested opinion and talk of others played a yet more notable and important part ; for what was it that led Pontius Pilate to condemn **Him** whom he in his heart believed to be guiltless, but the fear that “people would say” he was disloyal unto Caesar ? And to pass from the greater unto the less, how long ago would that evil custom bequeathed to us by our barbarous ancestors, have been rusting, with their armor, in forgetfulness, did not the cowardly fear of what strangers would say, outbalance the laws of God, and the best affec-

tions of our nature; and arm the hand of the friend against the friend, when both, at heart, shrunk from the appeal to this *ultima ratio* of unreasoning men.

But leaving this part of the matter, wherein this evil carefulness for the sweetness of the world's breath leadeth to crimes of a deep dye; let us farther consider the ill influence which this maxim that "we must do as others do," exerciseth on the common affairs of life. A man, for instance, when he summeth up his reckonings, and asketh himself how his business is thriving, may perceive that he is not so well to do in the world as he was; that the sources of his gains, without any fault of his, perhaps, are lessening; and that there is no reasonable hope that they will again prosper him as they have heretofore done. What doth he then?—doth he content himself to spend less when he gaineth less?—to proportion the sum of his outgoings to that of his diminished incomings? No, "what would people say? he must do as others of a like rank do."—What wonder if ruin follow?... Again;—a man of small fortune hath acquaintances whose larger means may justify their indulging in many of the gauds and ornaments of life;—the wife of such an one hath jewels;—another keepeth a table, not for hospitality alone, but show;—our poorer man hath hitherto been thrifty and careful, but an idle question maketh its way into his mind of "what will people think" of his frugal though hospitable board, his wife's lack of bravery in her attire,—his own plain mode of life?—Where this notion hath once settled on the mind, it is like rust, corroding and cankering whatever it touches: it eateth away his peace, and paltry as it is, hath power to destroy the comfort of a life! To be rid of it he spendeth what he getteth not, vieth with his neighbor for a

year or two, and becometh a beggar for the remainder of his days.

Nor is this over carefulness for the world's opinion less an enemy to kindness than to thrift: many a deed whose object is to raise the fallen, to cheer those on whom the hard hearted have frowned, to speak peace to a troubled soul, or other such Christian act, hath been nipped in the bud by its selfish, blighting breath; and, like other tyrannical rulers, it is not satisfied with the homage of our actions only; it must have that of our speech; and leadeth to injustice in more, and more diverse ways, than I can here specify. The experience of every one will, I doubt not, furnish him with many instances hereof in lesser matters; as where persons really not ill natured have joined with the company in slanderous or unedifying talk, lest it should be thought strange, should they not do as others did; and so on in other things of a like kind. It would be better both for ourselves and others, methinks, if instead of asking "what will *people* say?" we were to ask "what will *conscience* say?" and instead of measuring our doings by those of others, were to seek to square them by the standard of the sanctuary. We might haply save ourselves from many crimes, and some follies, by so doing.

*"He that spareth the rod spoileth the child"*

Is a sentence which, though it be that of the wise Solomon, is often in the mouth of many a man that hath not Solomon's wisdom, or he would have known that if the advance of knowledge be not of force to enable us to teach the young to love goodness, rather than to fear punishment, we might, for all the profit we have gained from learning, as well have remained ignorant. Truly, that is but a slavish service which is paid merely through fear of the rod; and as good

Doctor Martin Luther hath well said, "How shall our works please God when they come from a disinclined and unwilling heart? For to fulfil the law is to do the works of the law with inclination and affection; and freely, without the constraint of the law, to lead a godly and pious life, as if there were no fear of punishment."—I trow that none of those who are so free to quote this sentence of King Solomon, would be satisfied with all Solomon's knowledge, even though he spake of all plants, from the cedar of Lebanon, to the hyssop that hangeth on the wall: I hold it therefore among vulgar errors to suppose that we are to make no advance in the matter of education, when there is no other point wherein we would be satisfied to live and do as King Solomon did. And hereout arises much bitter fruit: for while parents are pleasing themselves with the thought that all offence is to be whipped out of the child by future pedagogues, and all learning whipped in; those years wherein the tender shoot can best be trained, are wholly neglected; and the child who haply, in after years, may be called on to harangue in the pulpit or the senate;—to guide a family, or it may be, the state;—is left in the nursery to learn to speak English from rude unlettered persons, who cannot utter three words without transgressing against the commonest rules of grammar;—and to gain the first notions of logical reasoning from those whose arguments reach no farther than, "it is because it is;"—and the first ideas of duty from such as most frequently hold the bearing a fair face towards the head of the family, to be the only point to be aimed at; and whose squabbles and ill language, unconstrained before the baby, give its young mind the first impressions. One who spake as never man spake, said, "Ye do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from

thistles"—yet what but thorns and thistles are likely to spring up in a nursery where the mind is left, as was quaintly said by some one, "a sheet of white paper for the devil to write upon"—whereas if parents would do their duty, and by keeping their children with them under such gentle restraint as parental affection would dictate, check in the bud the first indications of evil, the young memory would be stored with knowledge picked up from conversation, without the weariness of learning; the language would be polished, the manners refined; and the child, instead of coming down once a day to destroy everything he can lay his hands on; to howl if in an ill, or to bellow if in a good humor; would be a cheerful and pleasant companion; knowing when and where to indulge in his recreations, and when to withdraw into discreet silence, should graver matters require it. Nor is this any fine drawn picture of the imagination: for in this my revisititation of the world, it hath been my happiness to see some such families, and the felicity enjoyed by all the members, old and young, hath shown that knowledge, if rightly employed, can give us a better system than that of a semi-barbarous age, now passed away along with that law of Moses, which, though good for the times, was pronounced by the greatest of all authorities to have been given to the Israelites "because of the hardness of their hearts."

*"Children should not ask questions."*

I REMEMBER once hearing of the fellow of a college at Oxford, whose training had been in the days when university men could go deeper into a bottle of port than a problem of Euclid, who exclaimed against the evil practice of allowing children to be inquisitive. "A child cometh up to one, now-a-days," cried this rem-

nant of the olden times, "and asketh me the diameter of the moon: now I don't know what is the diameter of the moon, and I don't like to be asked such questions." This old gentleman was at least honest, and confessed without reserve the real cause of his objection. If others would be as honest, I have little doubt that we should find the very strenuous objections made to children's inquisitiveness, and eagerness to search into *omne scibile*, to have its origin in a like cause; their elders *do not know the diameter of the moon*. But meseemeth that even though the former generation should have been ignorant of many useful things, they have not any right thereby engendered to choke the spring of knowledge for the young, even though their searching inquiries should disclose how little the old had drunk of it; and he must have been a bad parent who hath gained so little of the affection of his child by his kindness, as to have any fear that he shall attract his mockery by his want of erudition. A better answer would such a parent give, even in that case, were he to say, "My child, when I was young, no one would answer my questions; and, therefore, to my regret, I remained ignorant of much that I wished to know: but, my dear child, I will not so deal with thee; and, therefore, though to this question of thine I am unable to give an answer of mine own science, yet as happily we have in this age books that will tell us this, and much more, we will together seek this out, and then we shall both be the wiser." Nor need any one fear the being lightly esteemed by his children for this plain spoken sincerity; for the lesson thus learned is made pleasant by the very circumstance that it is participated in by the parent, not dogmatically enforced; and the child will rather wish that much of his learning should be thus acquired,

than that he should run the hazard of being rebuked for slowness of apprehension, by one who already knoweth what he hath to explain.

Moreover this inquiring spirit which men are at such pains to repress, would seem to have been bestowed by God for the express purpose of farthering man's knowledge: for the child asketh of his parent the cause of this and that, and if he be answered well and freely, he will have learned, long ere he come to man's estate, the current state of science; and having thus a foundation whereon to advance his building, he may chance thereupon to place a superstructure which may be both useful and fair: but if this first instinct be checked, and the child be compelled to look on what he understandeth not, and yet hold no question thereupon; he will soon learn to glance carelessly over the things around him, so that "seeing he shall not see, and hearing he shall not understand;" and when he cometh to years, mis-called of discretion, it will be well for him if they afford enough of it to enable him then to hold his tongue.

During the first years of childhood the brain is tender, and impatient of much hard application; and, therefore, if heavy lessons be set him to learn, a child soon becometh unhealthy, and finally lumpish and incapable: but it is at this period of the tenderness of the brain, that he is most prone to ask questions as to all that he seeth or heareth, as though he were exercising that organ in the same way that he doth his limbs, by many irregular jumps and movements which favor its healthy development. If these movements be restrained, the body becometh deformed; nor doth the brain suffer less by the repressing this its natural exercise; becoming ever after inert, and unfit for all those higher operations of in-

tellect, which require promptitude of thought: so that not only is much precious time lost afterwards, in gaining that rudimentary knowledge which might have been acquired *vivâ voce* without fatigue, but the organ itself is, by its long inactivity, rendered less fit for its work. Two heavy evils, whereof the world hath daily experience in the bad ordering of affairs, by reason of the lack of mental expertness in those who have been entrusted with the overseeing thereof: and thus a large quota of mischief ariseth from the senseless vanity of parents, who are ashamed to acknowledge their lack of science; or their inconsiderateness in giving forth commands which they cannot support by any just and convincing reason, for which cause they dread the word, “why?”—or their indolence in not choosing to seek, either in their own minds or elsewhere, the means of satisfying the first longings of the child after true knowledge and justice.

“*A boy should be manly.*”

AND what doth this phrase of “being manly,” intend to express? We can understand what was meant by the *αρετή* of the Greeks, and the *virtus* of the Romans in heathen times: for in states when war was the only honorable employment,—plunder the only riches,—and the choice was only between slavery, literal back-breaking slavery, and conquest; it is easy to conceive that personal courage was reckoned *the virtue* *ἀρτ' εξηγην*. But the manliness of a Christian Englishman is a much more puzzling thing. “I like my boys to be manly,” saith a father; and thereupon he setteth his children to fight one another or their companions; not in defence of the oppressed: not in resistance to wrong doing which they can no otherwise avoid; but upon some

quarrel, having for its origin either ill-humor, or pride, or ill passion of some kind. It is manly, then, in the eyes of this father that his son should do, what, as a Christian, he is forbidden to do! Yet this same parent would shudder at the thought of allowing him to bow to the image of a Hindoo deity, or of a Romish saint even: But wherein lies the difference? Are we empowered to be thus curiously nice in the picking out which of God's positive laws we will obey, as though we gained an immunity for the neglect of the rest, by the observance of one or two? If we are to call it manly to cast off the very sign and badge of our Christian profession, "hereby shall men know that ye are my disciples that ye love one another,"—we need make small scruple to imitate the example of the Dutch traders to Japan in former times, and deny our faith when interest prompteth us so to do. To my mind, the sin is not greater in the one case than the other: for to be manly according to this devilish interpretation of the word, is—not to be a Christian man. If such is to be his future training, wherefore is a child mocked by being signed "with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified". . . . and shall "continue his faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end?" Verily the father who meaneth to have *such* a manly son, might spare himself the trouble of carrying him to the font.

*"A man is not responsible for his belief."*

MESEEMETH that there is, in the use made of this saying, some deal of error, sheltering itself under an undeniable truth: for though man's mind be so framed that he cannot believe without proof, and therefore he remaineth free from blame, if, from

poverty, he be misinstructed, and thereby his faith be starved ; or if, from ill instruction he be supplied with prejudice only, and thereby his faith be poisoned ; or if, from being born in a pagan country, the light hath not arrived to him, and therefore the seed of faith hath not been able to germinate ; yet if the lack of belief in revelation be the consequence of inattention, which doth not seek for proof, or of indolence, which will not be at the pains to cultivate the intellect enough to be able to comprehend the proof when given,—then is such a man assuredly responsible for his errors. Yea, methinks he incurreth the blame of the servant in the parable who having a talent given him, improved it not, but brought it back, not even naked as he received it, but wrapped in a napkin of fleshly desires and conceits, which he had bestowed on it whilst it was in his keeping, and complained of his lord as a hard master, because having bestowed on his idle servant the means of bettering his estate, he expected him to have made some use thereof.

It is a strange notion of many well intentioned persons, that religious knowledge doth differ from all other ; and that it cometh by prayer only, and not by study. How shall the man pray who knoweth not, or believeth not the necessity for prayer ? But when study hath roused his attention, then there will be some likelihood that, like the treasurer of Queen Candace, he will find out his own ignorance, and seek for some man to teach him ; yea, look on high for the instruction of that Divine Teacher who is ever ready to make them wise who seek for true wisdom.

It hath never been my luck to know one whose faith bore right good fruit, who had not reasoned thereupon ; for as St. Clement of Alexandria doth

truly say, “faith is knowledge, and knowledge is faith ; God having so constituted them that they mutually lean on each other, by turns leading and being led.” Nor, for this kind of reasoning, is it needful to have been trained in the schools of learning ; for as the ancient fathers of the church do well observe, man’s mind is naturally *λογικός*, i. e., rational or logical ; and therefore many a peasant who never heard of Aristoteles, doth, notwithstanding, come to a good logical conclusion by dint of his own deep thinking, aided by experience in life, and right intentions. Let a man, therefore, well judge himself, ere he assert, as a reason for his incredulity, that we are not responsible for our belief: for if he have not exerted all the powers of his mind upon the question, aided by all the cultivation which his station of life hath put within his reach, he may find when it is too late for his comfort that he hath cast away that faith which is knowledge, and knowledge which is faith, to his own great detriment in all the circumstances of life. For man, as he is not self-existent, so neither is he self-supported. He who would find diamonds must well know and believe that there is a gem within that rough outside, or he will pass it by unheeded: and he who would truly prosper in this present world, must sufficiently believe that there is good meant to him in the seeming roughnesses of life, to induce him to seek for it with some pains, otherwise he will sit down desponding, and only see black stones where others are gathering gems. Man is not yet what he shall be, and in this his infancy, if he be not content to lean on the hand which God holdeth out to him, he will stumble amid the rough ground which he hath to pass over ere he reach his resting-place.

*“Women have no concern with politics,”*

Is a saying which goeth current with the many, who, indeed, are not always the wise, as an incontrovertible truth; yet there is no opinion which I have heard in these days, that, to my mind, more savoreth of error. Politics, as I think, is a word applied to the science of government; but in its larger signification it extendeth itself to the knowledge of the relations between different states, and the influence which the circumstances of one may have upon the well-being of another, as well as to the acquaintance with the civil polity of our own. Now as the prosperity of a nation consisteth in the due attention on the part of its governors to all these matters; and as the well-being of every citizen is deeply involved in the prosperity of the land wherein he abideth; so hath it always been held that in all free states the rulers should be under a certain control of public opinion; this opinion being, indeed, no other than the collective expression of the notions held by the majority of individual citizens. Now as the essence of good government is that it shall protect the weak against the strong, so methinks, women, instead of having no concern with politics, have necessarily a peculiar interest therein; seeing that their small physical strength must always render them the most liable to oppression, either amid civil broils, or foreign invasion: for the which cause Plato, in his book of laws, would have the women of his imaginary state so trained to active, and even martial exercises, that should the defenders of a city be slain or absent, the women thereof should be able in some sort to protect themselves against the violence of their enemies.

But I am inclined to think that the untrue conclu-

sion expressed in the above stated saying, is drawn from premises no less false; for I hear it by many asserted that the female is born with a weaker intellect than the male. Now, theoretically, this should be false: for all through animal nature, that faculty, whatever it be, which is peculiar to the species, is possessed in an equal degree by both the sexes. Thus, the scent of the hound, or the wiliness of the fox, or the imitativeness of the monkey, differeth not one whit, whether the animal be male or female; and as reason, and a sharp discernment of the relations of things, is the peculiar faculty of man, so we might, by analogy, conclude that the female of the species possessed it in an equal degree: but we find a yet stronger argument in the anatomy of the brain, which is the organ whereby rational conclusions are shaped and elaborated: for here is no defect, but the contrary; for in regard to the proportion that the brain beareth to the body, the female is no ways behind the male, but rather exceedeth in the quantity thereof; neither is there any organ or part wanting therein, of those which the male brain doth possess. With regard to the use made thereof, I have already remarked that the education afforded to the female sex is not generally of such a nature, as, considering the advance of science, was to be expected: and yet despite of these disadvantages, there have been examples enough in almost every science, and especially in that most uninviting and severe one of the mathematics, to show that there is no lack of power, were it duly cultivated. Therefore I hold that this opinion of the intellectual incapacity of the female sex, must be ranked with those presumed truths which it is to be hoped that the enlightenment of the age will soon place among declared errors; and that ~~the~~ citizens of the state who have property and lives to

lose, will no longer be told that they have no concern in the policy which may bring both into jeopardy. I have heard much of "feminine accomplishments," and "feminine virtues," as if the two sexes were of entirely different species, and had no concerns in common; but I must freely confess, however strange it may seem to those who are freer in the use of this phrase than they are haply clear in the understanding of it, that I never yet could discover which they be. For should we term painting or music such accomplishments, there are abundance of the male sex as well as the female, who excel in them, and therefore they do not of nature belong to either; and for the so called "feminine virtues," if any will tell me of a virtue which becometh a woman, that doth not also become a man, I shall be wiser thereafter than the Gospel hath made me.

*"Marriage is a lottery,"*

To them that choose to make it so; for if a farmer going to a market where samples of corn or beeves are exposed for sale, shall determinately shut his eyes, and purchase the one upon which some chance shall cause him to lay his hand, I know no law to prevent it; save that, if it were often done, his next of kin might perchance sue for a writ *de lunatico inquirendo*: but since marriage is, for the most part, done once for all, the individual can, if he will, make this kind of lottery of it: for however great the folly, it would want that succession of proof which would enable the chancellor to allow relations to interfere in the way of restraint. How the saying arose, I am at a loss to tell, unless it were in those times when parents selected husbands for their daughters, and wives for their sons, in their nonage: it might then be held a lottery what the infant thus

betrothed might prove to be when grown to maturity: and perchance, as sayings last long after the circumstances which gave rise to them, this, which was a true condemnation of a bad practice in its first use, hath now grown into a proverbial justification of a practice equally bad: for to take him or her who is to be the companion of our future life, by mere chance, and without inquiry, bringeth us back to those times whereof this saying was the approach. Yet we do not see that a servant who may at any time be discharged at a month's notice, and trouble us no farther, is received into our houses without a strict inquiry into former conduct, ability, and disposition: a strange instance of prudence in the lesser matter, coupled with carelessness in the greater. And though something might be said in excuse on the part of the man, inasmuch as the law of this realm of England, as I have before noted, giveth him a kind of mastership over his wife which savoureth of that law of the strongest which barbarous times do affect, and thus he may think her temper and conduct of the less import,—what is the woman thinking of when she taketh to herself a master whose character she hath not sought to ascertain! Is she ignorant that, by the sanction of this same law of England, he can imprison her in any room in his house, so long as he himself is an inhabitant thereof;—that he may strike her, so long as he inflicteth no severe bodily injury; that he may leave her and live in adultery with another, but if, when thus abandoned she can earn money to support herself, or come into an inheritance from her family, he can claim and take it from her, for the use of himself and his paramour? Knoweth she not this? and if she do, what term shall we find for the folly of her who maketh it a lottery whether all this may not be her lot?—I speak not here of the

law which surely hath strange and ugly features for an age that boasteth itself as a polished one ; but I do say that whilst the law is such as to make marriage a legal slavery for the woman, lightened only of its burdensomeness by the temper and just feelings of a good man, who would abhor to use the wicked privileges thus allowed him ; it behoveth her, ere she so bind herself, to know thoroughly the habits and principles of him whom she trusteth with such large authority over her. A Christian in principle would not avail himself of such a law ; as indeed he blusheth now to see it recorded among those of his country : but the world's code of honor affordeth no security against it, as daily experience too sadly sheweth. Let every woman then beware, and take heed that her future peace be not thrown away in this "lottery :" and let every man beware also, lest with all these privileges of law, he should find that a bad woman can make them all of none avail, and bring him to confess that he had better have looked ere he made that headlong leap, led thereto by a fair face hiding an evil heart.

*"You cannot put an old head on young shoulders."*

If in the saying which standeth above, it be only intended to be affirmed that we cannot expect to gather the blossom and pluck the fruit of the same tree at the same season, or in other phrase, to find in a youth who hath not yet numbered twenty years, the experience of one of twice or thrice that age ; it may be reckoned among those self-evident propositions which persons might well spare themselves the trouble of putting forth or iterating, and can as little be gainsaid, as that gray hairs are more to be looked for on the head of an old man than on that of a youth. But if more than this be supposed to be

contained by implication in the saw I have mentioned, methinks it is not only dubious, but capable of large error. The wise Lord Bacon hath said that “a man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time ; but,” he addeth,—alack that the world should have profited so little by his wisdom!—“that happeneth rarely.” Now that it is good that the young should be merry and happy, it must be a sorry cynic that would deny ; but that mirth and joy may be all the better for having wisdom, goodness, and learning, in their company, must be admitted by all : and if the training of the young be such as shall lead them to seek and delight in such things, they will indeed be less giddy and perturbed on all occasions, but not a whit the less happy.

Should it be a question how this saying hath become current in the world, it may be considered that it is a very facile and convenient mode of shifting the burden from our own shoulders to those of dame Nature: yet is she not blameworthy in this matter, for she hath given abundance of brains to the young, and if they be not taught to use them, it is not her fault, but the parents’.

We have examples enough of the early putting forth of such buds of wisdom as have matured into goodly fruit, to prove that such things may be : but if ye shall be at the pains of inquiring whether the present fashion of indoctrinating youth, as well boys as maidens, be of a kind to supply by thought and cogitation what is lacking in experience, ye shall surely find that there is some main error at the bottom of the present plan of education ; since the best fruits of it are wanting. Yet is there not any lack of power in the brain, for ye shall oft times see a lad of sixteen or seventeen years of age, possessed

of many acquirements not to be gained without hard study. Such an one will be well grounded in Greek, Latin, and the mathematics, and these are not to be learned without some thought; but this glorious faculty whereby man doth so rise above the brutes, is for the most part left uncultivated, or only called into action by the dread of the pedagogue:—the memory indeed, is disciplined, but the reason left untrained. For proof hereof ye have but to look at the course of a young man's life: at school first, then at the university, and lastly under the especial training for his profession or trade be it what it may, wherein the fashion of empirical teaching doth so generally prevail, that ye shall rarely find a tutor or instructor of youth anywhere, who is either able or willing to answer those questions on the foundations of science, of law, or of commerce, which suggest themselves to an ingenuous mind; and thus all teaching resolveth itself into a set of dogmatic rules for particular cases, rather than broad principles, whereon the tyro may ground general conclusions, such as may guide him on other occasions than the one in question.

And if this be true as regardeth youth of the male sex, how much more biting an evil is it as regardeth the female: for the teachers themselves, being for the most part ill and insufficiently instructed, dare not step beyond the mere setting of lessons to be learned by rote; from which so little of wisdom is to be gained, that ye shall frequently find the old shoulders surmounted by a very childish head, as far as regardeth the brain furniture, however it may externally bear the signs of age.

Many are the complaints made in this age, of the neglect of education; and truly I do hold them to be well founded: but I do also note that what is called

education, though it may raise the recipients thereof above the depths of brutal ignorance, is far off from a training to wisdom. A young maiden is kept in the nursery and the school-room, like a ship on the stocks, whilst she is furbished with abundance of showy accomplishments, and is launched like the ship, looking taught and trim, but empty of everything that can make her useful. What captain would undertake to go a voyage in such a vessel? He would naturally say, I must have store of all that is needful to meet the storms of winter, the attacks of enemies, the wear and tear of the voyage. And wherein is the maiden better qualified to meet the rubs and storms of life? What store of knowledge hath she to enable her to meet the wintry period of life cheerfully? What mental firmness to withstand the enemies of her virtue? What good common sense to meet the wear and tear of everyday life?—She is a doll to be played with, not a companion to cheer, or a wise friend to guide, or to help in the buffetings of ill-fortune. Yet if we will mark those persons of both sexes, who, —by circumstances, which, though deemed untoward, were God's schooling for the mind,—have had all the powers of thinking and acting early called forth; we shall see that they have proved themselves equal to the demands made upon them. Now if wise and gentle training were, during early life, made to perform the part of hard necessity, the same good effect might be secured without the pain and harass; and children might be accustomed to employ their reason on the ordinary business of life, without foregoing any branch of useful learning, or losing any of those refreshments and delights which the great Creator hath provided for the young and innocent. For a better system of teaching,

where the reason rather than the memory should be taxed, would make learning less the drudgery of one who fears punishment, than the pleasant occupation of the intellect; and thus would it both occupy less time, and be far more useful for the affairs of life; where we never find that set rules will serve us for every variety of circumstance, but where general principles are needed for guidance on fresh occasions and must thus be applied *pro re nata*, as we are wont to say in our prescriptions. Were such training given to the young, I think the saying I have commented on, would not be so general: for it would then be seen that a wise and experienced head *can* be placed on young shoulders; and that nothing is needful thereto but the careful and early use of the faculties God hath given.

*“Ne sutor ultra crepidam.”\**

ALBEIT this saying be ancient, it is not without its harm in modern times also; for it is a cruelty to attempt to bound the expansion of the human intellect because the law of nature may have required the labor of the hand to minister to the maintenance of the body: and to scoff at the endeavor to rise above the mire of daily toil, and soar in the empyrean of spiritual enjoyments for a short space, sheweth a small share of the brotherly feeling which should exist among the followers of Christ. Moreover the maxim, if attended to, would be hurtful to mankind generally; for many of our most useful discoveries, and much that doth most delectate our imagination, have been the work of persons who would never have benefited or delighted their contemporaries and posterity, had they thereby been deterred

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\* Let not the shoemaker go beyond his last.

from engaging in pursuits very little germane to their worldly calling. The lawyer would never have written poetry, nor the priest invented machinery: yea Friar Bacon would have left us without gunpowder, which, albeit it hath its evils, yet hath served man much more effectually than it hath injured: and even in times nearer to the period wherein that saying had its rise, Cicero himself would never have left us that rich legacy of pure morality and wise philosophy, had he confined himself to *his* last; videlicet, the labors of the forum; nor earlier yet, would Socrates have become the listener to Anaxagoras while he was yet engaged with the chisel in his father's shop, had he had any such notion. Nay, he who first spake it showed more of the spite of mortified vanity, than the sense of a wise man; for though a shoemaker's business be with the foot only, yet if he had made any use of his eyes he could not fail to be cognizant of other parts of the body also, in a country and time when men were so little chary of their skin, that there was scarcely any part thereof that did not daily see the sun. It hardly deserved, therefore, the long currency it hath had.

*“A little learning is a dangerous thing.”*

I KNOW not whether when Mr. Pope wrote these words, he had himself felt that his small knowledge of Greek had betrayed him into some inaccuracies in his translation of Homer, and therefore he was in anger with his own “little learning;” but this I do know, that the lines have been quoted largely to countenance an indolence that human nature is already too prone to, without the further aid of a popular poet. For in good sooth, he that never beginneth can never end; and he who would have

much learning, must begin his labors with a little ; therefore I do hold this to be one of those fallacies which throw an obstacle in the way of improvement, and therefore ought to be removed from the path.

Science duly followed up doth elevate man to his greatest perfection ; but even a small tincture thereof is not unuseful, for thereby is the mind rescued from that utter brutishness which leaveth it the mere tool of sensual and animal desires ; and he who seeketh learning because he would not leave unused any of God's good gifts, will be in no danger of drawing therefrom any of that idle vanity which hath no part in the character of a good Christian. Every approach, however distant, to the enjoyment and appreciation of spiritual pleasures,—and of this class are learning and science,—is an approach also towards a capability of that immortality of spiritual happiness which is promised us, and they who discourage such attempts in those large classes of mankind who are necessitated to live by their daily toil, do ill service to God, by arresting his creatures in their progress towards the fulfilment of their great end and aim. Why should not the humblest begin in this life the course of instruction which hereafter is to receive its completion, in “ knowing even as we are known ? ”

*“ I will retire from business, and prepare for another world.”*

Who is there who hath not heard some honest, pains-taking man uttering some such saying as this, when old age is coming on ? Yet well meant as this may be, and plausible as it soundeth to the unthinking, I know no greater, though alack no more common error than this notion, that the common engagements of this world are a hinderance to our preparation for

the next; for I do surely believe, and think I have the warrant of Scripture and reason therefor, that we were sent into this probationary state to the end that our souls might learn experience among the diverse circumstances of active life, so as to know good from evil, and never to hazard the falling from glory when once attained, by any such mistake as was committed by those spirits that kept not their first estate. But if we retire from temptation, we deny ourselves the schooling which God appointed for our better teaching, and so far from avoiding the temptation to evil, we increase it tenfold. For there is no such good friend to virtue as that useful weariness which leaveth no time for a selfish cogitation over the means of gratifying the animal nature: yea, he who, in his daily charge, be it what it may, hath been just and true, hath taken no undue advantage, nor oppressed any, if rich;—who hath served truly, and in no way defrauded his employers, either by negligence or dishonesty, if poor;—and who hath lived in Christian love and amity with all his fellow men, whether connected with him by blood or otherwise; hath prepared well for another world, albeit his prayers may have been short, and his time actively employed, even to his dying day.

It is not for our “much speaking” that we shall be heard; and the brief but earnest aspiration of the heart towards God, which a wise and good man doth use to sanctify the business of the day withal, while pursuing the avocations of this world, hath in it more of the vitality of religion than the dawdling meditations of one who maketh prayer the object of his life, rather than the means of leading that life aright. We pray for aid to perform our duties; but to use many prayers, and perform few duties, is but a mockery and a folly: for man thus disguiseth to

his own conscience his cowardice and indolence, and fancieth that he is pious and virtuous, whilst in truth he is only idle and useless. Doubtless there is a time when increasing infirmity may make a man shrink from the fatigue of business which affordeth no respite from toil: but then this greater quietude is but a concession necessarily made to the needs of the body, and is not at all to be considered as the means of improving the health of the soul: on the contrary, we have all seen and known, that it must be a strong and well disciplined mind which can resist the natural propension towards the vices which arise out of this state of inaction; such as peevishness, selfishness, and consequent carelessness of the comfort and happiness of others.

When we entertain any doubt as to the soundness of our opinions, there is nothing which doth so strengthen and clear our apprehension, as the recurring to what Lord Bacon doth well term the great book of God's works. Now we know that when Adam fell from his first estate, God imposed on him a law, which experience sheweth to be still the law of human nature, that "in the sweat of his brow he should eat bread." No man can propound to himself that the loving Father of all his works would either inflict a punishment for vengeance rather than for amendment on the first offender, or replenish the surface of this globe with beings disqualified, by the very law of their existence, from the pursuit and attainment of their ultimate good: we may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the toil imposed on man was intended to be the strengthener and safeguard of his virtue, and to guide his frailty in the true path to life eternal. We see it to be the appointment of God,—for what he suffereth is so far his appointment, that he might prevent it, and doth not:—I say

we see it to be the appointment of God that millions must go forth to their daily toil, if they mean to eat their daily food; nay, the very necessity for food, which is the cause of this labor, is especially created by God. Then if such be the order written in the book of His works, we must, unless we are determined to shut our eyes, and not read therein, conclude that retirement and inaction are not the circumstances best fitted for the development of the spiritual life within: which doth indeed rather thrive and flourish upon the fulfilled duty of each day; even if it were no more than the conscientiously doing an honest day's work, for the allotted day's pay, whether seen or not: and in like manner, vice pineth and dieth in the mind, when quiet sleep, the result of labor, filleth the hours which are not given either to active employ; or to the exercise of those kindly social affections, which so readily twine about the heart, when the space for their enjoyment is short, and the zest of their enjoyment is not dulled by satiety.

Instead therefore of seeking a discharge from all duty, as the means of improving the soul, whose true life is the fulfilment of duty, we should endeavor rather, as age approaches, to cut out for ourselves occupation sufficient for the diminished powers of the body, such as shall give room for the exercise of that concern for others, and carelessness of self, which form the best grace of youth, and which may still hover, like a bright halo round the head of age, making gray hairs lovely, and giving earnest, even in this life, of what will be the society of "just men made perfect," in the next.

*“The poor beetle that we tread upon,  
In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great  
As when a giant dies.”* —

SHAKSPEARE.

THE poet hath sometimes a knowledge that may astound us of many things which, pertaining as they do, to human nature generally, he hath, as it were, with him in his closet, they being in his own spirit: but of those things which are external to him he cannot have farther cognizance than others of his age and country; and, regarding those, he doth only repeat, and thereby perpetuate, the fashion of his own times. And herein I note an error, inasmuch as his words ofttimes gain undue weight in those latter cases from his acknowledged skill in the first. For it doth in no way derogate from his marvelous powers, to say that such fashion of the time may be ill grounded, so far as regardeth science, since the business of the poet is to delectate the imagination, and mend the heart, by his lively pictures of human nature; not to become a teacher of natural history or philosophy; therefore if, in noting popular errors, I note also a mistake of the above quoted most honored writer, I hold myself in no way disrespectful to his memory.

Now I would commend to notice that though the fins of fish, in regard to the arrangement of the bones, be typical of the human hand, no one will affirm them to be capable of executing the office whereto our hands are appointed: yet it would be expecting nearly such a miracle as the exercise of manual dexterity by a fish, were we to attribute the like power of feeling to a beetle, whose nerves are dependent on many separate ganglia, as belongeth to a being in whose large brain all the sensations conveyed by the spinal cord from the delicately sensitive

skin, are concentrated, and held up, as it were, for reason to take cognizance of, and relieve them when painful. Reasoning from analogy, we cannot either assert or credit this, for in the human body the action of the viscera is for the most part confided to the regulation of such a set of ganglia and their dependent nerves, connected but slightly with the brain; and no one needeth to be told that these actions do proceed with so little of consciousness on our part, that a man shall hardly know if his heart beateth or his stomach digesteth, save when disease interrupteth these functions: the natural conclusion herein would therefore be, even if direct experiment had not confirmed it, that a system of ganglia of this kind ministereth little, if at all, to sensation. And furthermore, doth the beetle need human keenness? Is it the wont of the Almighty to bestow powers which can never be exercised? What purpose doth sensitiveness to pain serve, if not that of a faithful and ever ready monitor to make us vigilant against such accidents and circumstances as were formerly the occasion thereof? And to what shall it profit a worm beneath the sod that it should have power to feel, and a smarting reason to dread those haps and chances, against which it hath neither wit to devise, nor skill to execute defences? Such a boon surely were a gift more worthy of a demon than of the God whose name is love. And should any object to this scientific truth, that it may breed cruelty to God's creatures; I answer that they *are* his creatures; and, therefore, that while he who loveth cruelty would not be restrained, even if the beetle had a human frame; he that loveth God will respect even the smallest impress of his hand. Nor is our estimate of the greatness and goodness of the Creator hereby lessened, but rather increased; inasmuch as

where he hath not given means of escape, he hath not given acute sensibility to suffering. Let no man then call this an imperfection in his work; for in our humble way, even if a man excel in fashioning the most exactly mechanical chronometer, who shall think it scorn if he make also a mousetrap? On the contrary, doth he not rather, in that he can well make a trap for humble service, and a clock for time, to the guidance of the mariner in safety through long voyages, distantly image Him who hath placed the fish in the sea for its humble satisfaction, and man on the earth to prepare for eternity. Our God bestoweth no powers that cannot work for good;—life, and consequently its preservation, is of value to man, inasmuch as it is the shell of the nut laid up for immortality, which shall hardly gain its full proportions if the shell be destroyed: to the animal of lower grade, life deprived of sensual gratification would be a punishment; they are, therefore, suffered to become the prey of other animals ere they suffer decrepitude, and their nervous system is such as maketh their doom no evil.

*“It is only a white lie.”*

THERE is nothing more harmful to virtue than the habit of dwelling always on the confines of vice; for as we find the borderers in all countries do speak a sort of bastard tongue, which savoreth of both the neighboring languages; so he who liveth always in the vicinage of evil, will hardly keep his good pure and unmixed. I have, therefore, many times wondered how the phrase of “white lies” came into so common usage; for, if I mistake not, falsehood hath so much of the *Æthiop* about it, that no soap will wash it white. Nay, even its progeny at three or four removes, will still retain an ugly mulatto tinge.

“It is only a white lie,” saith one, “it harmeth no one.” But of such an one I would ask, harmeth it not thyself? will thy memory be as strong if it be never exercised in accuracy of recollection, as it will be where the anxiety never to transgress the exact truth, causeth a close attention to all circumstances, which are afterwards to be related as they happened, rather than embellished with imaginary adjuncts? Furthermore, doth any one ever tell a direct falsehood for the first time without embarrassment and blushes? and is not this the safeguard which God himself hath appointed to our virtue, so that the first step in evil being so painful, we shall have no inclination to make a second. Is it no harm to thee if by habit thou lose thy sensibility to this voice of the good Spirit of God, which is sent to guide thee in the right road to heaven? Nay, even as regardeth our worldly convenience, it is rare if he who is known to tell “white lies” with so little of inward concern as to reveal no trace of it in his face, shall gain credit for his serious words. Confidence between man and man is thus shaken, and that most sweet consciousness of having striven to assimilate ourselves to God in the most essential attribute of his being, is altogether lost.

It is said of the philosopher Xenocrates, that when an oath was proffered to him, previous to giving his testimony in a court of justice, the Athenians with one voice cried out, that it was an insult to demand an oath from a man who never in his life had uttered a falsehood; and he was not allowed to be sworn. Now it is to be noted of this philosopher, that when he was sent on an embassy to King Philip of Macedonia, that astute monarch, after his departure, declared, that Xenocrates was the only one of the Athenian

chiefs whom he had been unable to bribe. Such near friends are truth and honesty.

And what is the object of these “white lies?” Vanity it may be, that men may say we tell a good story; or it may be that we seek to entertain the company by telling with a grave face to a friend some untruth, which if he believe, he shall thereby become an object of ridicule. But is this to be deemed an exact squaring of our actions by the golden rule of —“Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you?” For, methinks, few do readily abide the being flouted and jeered at themselves, however well inclined they may be to jeer at others. And here, again, the loss doth in the end redound to ourselves; as indeed it doth whosoever we break any law of God: for many a man hath lost a friend who would otherwise have been a true and a good one, by unseasonable jesting of this kind. And indeed I hold it generally to be a vulgar error, deserving of reprobation, to fancy that God’s laws are inscrutable, and hard to practise as regardeth this world; for I know no precise law of the Gospel which hath not a direct view to our well-being in this present world, insomuch that the very politeness which is enforced in society as requisite to the comfort and decorum thereof, is nothing more than a feeble copy of the Christian graces which Saint Paul hath enumerated in the thirteenth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Without some truth we know well that society could not go on, and it is an ill cleverness which striveth to weigh how small a portion of it may serve worldly purposes; for the soul in the meantime is abridged of its proper food, and pineth and wasteth away in a hopeless atrophy.

## OF GENIUS.

AMONG the many errors common in the world, there is no one more common, or more hurtful, than the vulgar opinion respecting genius: namely, that it is an especial gift from heaven, whereby men become accomplished in science or art, without any sweat of their own brow; a happiness which hath befallen no man, I think, since Adam: and yet we may daily hear persons excuse themselves from pursuing this or that study, because "they have no genius for it"—a manifest self-deception; since excepting in the instance of music, wherein the fitness of the organ supersedeth some of the rudimentary part of learning, and a child shall thus be found sometimes to accomplish at once, what to others would cost a longer application, I know of nothing that is to be gained without labour. Nay, even among these early prodigies, though for children their skill be marvelous, yet if this precocious display of talent be not followed up by farther teaching and exercitations, maturer years will disappoint the early promise: and yet in this case the tools are in a measure ready made, and their use familiar; for the voice can execute, without schooling, much of what the ear demandeth. But in other things it is not so—the painter must learn the art of mixing and laying on of colors by a deep study of the nature of the materials, and a long experience of their effect; their "behavior" under particular circumstances, as it may be an experimental chemist would shape his phrase. The sculptor, however great his concep-

tions, must learn to temper and mould the clay of his model, and to use the chisel skillfully: and if artists had disdained this patient toil, and trusted to their heaven-born genius, the world would never have been delectated by the sight of their works; which yet we shall hear men term efforts of such sublime genius that no one who is not so gifted can ever hope to rival them. Could one of these supine admirers of excellence ask these men how they arrived at such a point of perfection, both in their conception and execution, he would hear of days and nights devoted to unremitting toil with a perseverance which nothing could daunt: and will discover at last, that this envied gift of genius is nothing else than a mind cultivated with an industry which others shrink from, through their laziness of intellect. The proper answer to a person who should thus laud an artist's genius at the expense of his diligence, exclaiming, "*I* should never accomplish this if *I* were to work for my whole life,"—would be, "*Work as I have done for two years only, and see what will come thereof.*"—But thou shalt find that thy admirer of genius will never consent to an application as severe as the so called gifted individual imposeth on himself: but will go away repeating his parrot-like words, in the hope of satisfying himself in his supinity, and persuading both himself and others, that his idleness is no sin; and so he will fancy that he hath established an axiom, when he hath only delivered himself of a declaration that he is too indolent ever to excel.

Nor is this true in regard to art alone; for the mathematician, however powerful his mind, must submit to long and wearisome calculations: the chemist, the natural philosopher, the anatomist, must trace the course of nature with patient toil, ere they

attain to any of those discoveries which, when made, are hailed by the world as the offspring of an almost divine intellect. Kepler was contented to devote two and twenty years to his calculations, ere he was enabled to publish those true views of science which have made his name immortal. Never did any coin come fresher, and sharper stamped, from the very mint of genius: for those views overturned all the time-honored notions of circular movements among the heavenly bodies, and introduced that new principle of the ellipse, which has led to all that mastership of astronomical science that later observers have attained to. But had he suffered his indolence to have whispered to him during the failures and difficulties of that long period,—“It is useless to pursue this, which I have evidently no genius for; eight or ten years have been wasted in trying to advance, and I have made no progress,”—the world would have lost one of the brightest names in the list of its great men; and mariners might still have been exposed to those fearful dangers of the sea, which his discoveries in science have now taught men so far to master. But Kepler had confidence in human nature, and he persevered.

Doubtless it is the man who feeleth most deeply the nobleness of the gift of reason which God hath bestowed upon him, who will address himself the most diligently to the work of making it available “for the glory of the Creator, and the relief of man’s estate,”—and this, as I believe, is the true secret of genius. He trusteth to his Lord that the talent entrusted to him will bring rich interest, if it be duly used, and he doth so use it; for in this trade there is no fear of bankruptcy. Wrapped in the napkin, it doth but tarnish, and cometh back to the hands of

his Lord the worse for its want of wear. Let him, then, who would have genius, wrestle for it as the patriarch Jacob wrestled with the angel of the Lord, and though the night-long struggle may leave his body the weaker, his point will have been gained.

## OF SOME ERRORS RESPECTING THE NATURE OF EVIL SPIRITS.

WHILST treating of vulgar and frequent errors in men's notions of things, methinks those which are so generally current respecting evil spirits, deserve specially to be examined; for not only be there many falsehoods thus received as truths, but these falsehoods do minister as it were, and pander to the ill dispositions of men; and furnish an excuse wherewith to salve a wounded conscience, without applying the sharp caustic of a true and fruit-bearing repentance. And truly the common and vulgar notion of the Evil One doth so much trench upon the attributes of God, that when we have, according to the adage, "given the devil his due,"—such as the vulgar apprehension of the great mass of the people doth make it, I know not what distinction we leave for the Deity. For the common notion is, that the devil doth tempt us to evil by suggestions whereof we have no note but the feeling such or such thoughts or desires; and of the millions which are now living on the face of the earth, almost every one at this moment that I am writing, will be sensible of something within or without him that warreth against perfection. "It is the devil—the tempter,"—saith the unreasoning believer: but is he then omnipresent, the attribute of Infinity? His suggestions, it is said, are to our thoughts; but what can read them save Omniscience? Is God so wont to give his honor to another, that he will thus throw two of the brightest jewels of his crown of

perfection to a creature in rebellion against him? "It is for the trial of our faith," saith the unreasoning believer: then doth the temptation come primarily from God: but this Scripture doth forbid us to conceive; for saith the apostle, "Let no man say he is tempted of God, when he is led away of *his own lusts*, and enticed,"\* by that animal nature, namely, which we hold in common with the brutes, and which requireth the control of the rational part of us to keep it within due bounds, so that the soul may not be imbued with the taint of unruly earthly desires. And this notion of the extreme power of the devil is the growth of the last two or three centuries; for we shall find all the legendary tales of the middle ages, figuring the evil spirit with the characteristics of the satyr of the Ethnicks; easily foiled and cheated by man, and vanquished often, in strength or in wit, by the saint whom he assailed, by bodily, not by spiritual temptations; for I know of no instance among early legends, when the tempter is represented as a merely spiritual being.

Good Doctor Martin Luther, who may be considered as the father of our reformed churches, speaketh of devils visiting his chamber in the shapes of animals; a clear deception of the senses, caused by undue excitement of the brain; but also in his calmer moments he describeth devils as melancholy spirits, inhabiting marshes, and desolate places, and ruins; and not by any means as having that ubiquity which is now attributed to the universal tempter. Now this description of the devil, given by him, is exactly that which the ancients did give of their *δαιμων*, or *demon*, by the which word they described the spirit of a dead man after it hath quitted the body; for,

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\* James i. 13, 14.

they, conceiving it to have a separate existence, did imagine it to be a wandering, and somewhat unhappy being, specially inhabiting deserts and desolate places, or marshy forests, such as were then to be found in Britain; which country was, for that cause, then thought to be a special residence of demons. Nor was this word understood by the Greeks in a bad sense; for every disembodied spirit was, in their phrase, a demon; good, or bad, according to the disposition of the former man. In those days, when the apparently eternal stars were held to be spiritual existences, self-moved, and divine, it was an easy transition to imagine the bright *ignes fatui*, so commonly seen in the night in marshy places, to have a something of this divinity also, and thus it came to be thought that if the stars were gods, these fiery exhalations which did glance and move about, now seen, and now disappearing, were the appearances of that half divinity, the soul of man: and thus came the marshes of Britain and other places, to be peopled in imagination with these demons, or disembodied souls: a belief which, like the Zabianism, or star-worship, whereof it was part and parcel, did spread nearly over the world in former times.

But there was also a form of this Zabianism which grew into more fame about the time of Darius the son of Hystaspes, through the intervention of Zoroaster, under the title of the Magian doctrine; whereby the influences of the world were held to be divided between the Good and Evil Principle; the one typified by the sun and light,—the other by the night and darkness; these two principles being co- eternal, and in constant opposition to each other. This doctrine, which spread widely over the Persian empire and its dependencies, tainted, in many instances, the later Jewish faith, no less than that of demons

which they had learned from the Greeks, and haply also from the Egyptians: and in the embodiment of Satan, first in the book of Job, written at a time when Zabianism was prevalent,\* and after that in the writings of the Rabbins, we find a mixture of the Magian Evil Principle, and the Greek demon, with somewhat of their own faith besides. This was the prevalent superstition in the times of our Saviour Jesus Christ: and all violent diseases were held to be caused by the intervention of demons, or souls of dead men, who, when ill-disposed, were supposed to enter into the living body of another man, and thus to inflict torment upon the person thus possessed; which superstition our Saviour doth well describe, when he illustrateth his rebuke to the men of that generation, by the example of the unclean spirit, that when expelled, walketh through desert, or desolate places, till he finally returneth with a company of seven others worse than himself, to torment the same man: in which description we see plainly that the spirit here spoken of was none other than the before mentioned *δαιμων* of the Greeks, as well as the devil of the famous Doctor Martin Luther. But now, to the unlearned much confusion of ideas hath arisen from the constant translation of *δαιμων*, or *demon*, by *devil*; because they attach to this latter word a meaning which it is likely the first translators never meant to give to it, “He hath a devil and is mad;”† is a description at once of the assumed disease, and the imagined cause thereof.

I have many times thought that it was owing to the lofty and grandiose descriptions given in the *Paradise Lost*, that men, since the time when that

\* See Job xxxi. 26—28.

† John x. 20. Δαιμόνιον ἔχει καὶ μαίνεται.

poem came to be popular, have invested Satan with a kind of attributes never before assigned to him; and as was natural to the increasing spirituality of religion, have more and more divested him of the notion of locality and form, till the Evil One of this age is become in effect and conceit of men, the Evil Principle of the Magians: i. e., a power co-existing with, and warring against the will of the good Deity. And this I must note as a most pestilent error, equally unauthorized by Scripture and by reason: and if any shall imagine this notion of theirs to be borne out by some passages which are freely quoted on such occasions, I must remind the unlearned reader, first, that as I have said already, many passages translated *devil* are in the original *demon* (δαίμων) and that when the word *diabolus* (διάβολος) occurreth, this term, in common parlance, meaneth an accuser or slanderer, as when the apostle reproacheth the women who are *diaboli*, i. e., slanderers.\* It is to be farther borne in mind that the Christians of that day were pursued by the heathen with all manner of calumnies: and this will help us to the true application of many of the passages where this word is used in the Epistles of the Apostles, where it generally applies to those accusers of the faithful; as when 1 Tim. iii. 7, it is required that the bishop shall have a good report from them which are without, i. e., the heathen, “*lest he fall into reproach, and the snare of the slanderer,*” or *informer,*† (διάβολος.) In like manner the apostle Peter, in the fourth chapter of his first epistle, having warned his converts not to be terrified at the fiery trial

\* 1 Tim. iii. 11. γυναικας ὡσάντως σεμνὰς μὴ διαβόλες.... Tit. ii. 3. Πρεσβυτίδας ὡσάντως εν κατασήματι ἵεροπρεπεις μη διαβόλες...

† Δεις δε αὐτον καὶ μαρτυριαν καλὴν ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὄγειδος μὸν ἐμπέσῃ καὶ παγίδα της διαβόλου.

of persecution, proceedeth in chap. v. 8,\* to recommend them to be sober-minded and vigilant: because their slanderous accuser was walking daily among them, seeking his prey: whom they were to resist, by steadfastly adhering to their Christian faith; knowing, also, that not the Christians only, but their brethren that were in the world; i. e., the unconverted heathen, suffered the like afflictions. For it is well known that from the days of Tiberius, downwards, the informers so frequently held up to detestation by Tacitus, the historian, under the title of *delatores*, were the very scourge of society; no man being safe from their pestilent accusations.

Much more might be said which the learned critic will not want my aid to discover, and which to the unlearned would haply seem wearisome, I shall not, therefore, pursue this examination of words, but call upon those who have hitherto so lightly received this notion respecting the great might of the tempter, to review it by the light of reason and common sense: for where were the goodness of God, had he endowed a wicked Spirit with such power over the minds of men, as to leave them small chance of distinguishing between his suggestions and those of the ever blessed Spirit of Grace? Such a thing cannot be for a moment supposed of the loving Father, who hath so cared for our well being in all things: we may, therefore, well conclude, that be these fallen angels what they may, as to their inherent nature and state, their influence over us must be very slight,

\* Νήφατε, γρηγορίσατε· ὅτι ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος, ὃς λέων ὀρύμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίν. οὐ, ἀντισητε σερεοί τῇ πισει, εἰδοτες τα αυτα τῶν παθημάτων τῇ εν κοσμῳ ὑμῶν αδελφοτητι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· wherein it may be observed that the lack of the Article to the word *diabolus* doth deprive it of its Substantive sense and make it in a manner an Adjective to *ἀντίδικος*.

if not altogether null: and the worst tempter will be found to be that evil spirit in a fair form,—the corrupt soul of man; for bad companions are for the most part the real seducers of the unwary; and it is not an invisible suggestion that leadeth us astray, but early misgovernment, and the remembrance of evil books, evil conversation, and evil example which taint us with the infection of sin; a poison which may be met by the antidote of wise and holy instruction previously administered, but which when received without such preparation is for the most part deadly. Thus bad men by making themselves the willing promoters of sin here, fit themselves to be the companions of the Evil One hereafter, and are indeed his angels or agents upon earth.

## AN INQUIRY IF IGNORANCE BE REQUI- SITE TO INNOCENCE.

PLAUSIBLE errors be like wild roses: they bear indeed here and there a pleasant blossom, but it soon falleth: and their thick offsets do choke the growth of better things. Among these well sounding errors, I reckon the notion held by some, that innocence is only to be preserved by ignorance of evil. Truly it were a pleasant thing to him who is weary of contemplating the vices and miseries of mankind, to think that there were means of closing eyes, and ears, and understanding, so as never to have cognizance of these ills: but it is childish to sigh after what is clearly impossible; and even were this possible, I doubt much if our happiness, either present or future, would be so great as now it may be, if we do only avail ourselves of the real use of knowing the evil, by choosing of our own free will the good, and persevering in the pursuit thereof. For to *know* evil, and to *do* it, are two widely different things.

The only man who ever had full cognizance of human nature, was he who being himself the bodily shrine of the Deity, and his own human soul in perfect union with its Divine Prototype, could measure the influences of the corporeal on the spiritual by mere self-examination; and we may well believe that when the ever blessed God, as Saint Clement, of Alexandria, doth strongly express it, came as a man, in order through human lips "to teach man how he might become a God," and to be as the Apostle hath it, "an ensample" for our imitation,

we may walk safely under his guidance. Now a very few words of his enemies' reproaches will show that the saying of the heathen, *homo sum et humani nihil a me alienum puto* was not inapplicable to him. He was called by those who, in that age also, thought a separation from the evil world the best safeguard of innocence, "a glutton and a wine-bibber; a friend of publicans and sinners," which terms being taken with that largeness of interpretation which belongeth to the slanders of an enemy,—who generally hath skill enough to ground his ill sayings upon some apparent truth,—would seem to show that this only perfect man who ever trod this earth of ours, mixed among all sorts; as if to show the beauty of holiness, contrasted with the ugliness of vice; and thus to win men from their sins, by making them love virtue better. God, who knoweth all things, seeth every day more sin than the worst of us would care to talk of in common society; yet that complete knowledge of evil, though it saddened, did not corrupt the human soul of the Saviour: he wept for his "brethren according to the flesh;"—abhorred vice, yet loved man;—lived among us,—lived among us too at a season when evil was rife, and when the corruption of society generally had arrived at a point that required no less an intervention than that of God himself to check it. All this he saw and knew, and yet,—with all the infirmities, passions, and temptations of a man,—he passed the dangerous season of youth unspotted; happy in his spiritual union with God, and ready to bear all that evil men could inflict, in order to ensure that union to all eternity.

But he "came for our ensample:" innocence therefore is made of other stuff than ignorance; yea we shall find that it is a substantive rather than a

negative quality ; and consisteth not so much in a mere absence of evil,—for then the house might be only swept and garnished to make it a readier home for the demon when he cometh,—as in the presence of good which leaveth no room for him to enter.

And now, having shown that the ignorance of evil is not necessary to innocence, the question remaineth, which to parents and teachers is an anxious one, how the knowledge of it may be communicated without peril to virtue ?—and here again that perfect “ensample” leaveth us not to doubt. The knowledge of evil, along with all other knowledge, was communicated to the mind of the child at the earliest age wherein it can receive knowledge ; since as his human constitution was perfect in soul and body, so the spiritual union with the Deity was also complete from the first: therefore, to Christ, it was among the first of his recollections as a human being. Doth not this show us that the ordinary course is wrong ? We are wont to keep the knowledge of ill from our children as long as possible, so as for the most part to leave it to be instilled into them by those who have a design to corrupt, and therefore paint it in fair colors. It was not so that the young child at Nazareth was educated ;—he who, alone, of all men, was educated by God himself. He saw,—for God’s own knowledge was in him,—the full ugliness of vice, and all its eternal consequences, long ere the animal frame had arrived at the point when the voice of the tempter might have its charms ; and we have seen the results ; strange, that we should never yet have thought of trying the same plan ! I do most assuredly think that more make shipwreck of their virtue out of a childish and natural curiosity, and inquisitiveness after new things, than out of any inherent love of evil, and that were the constitution

of animal nature early set forth to the child by parents or teachers, with that gravity which becometh them; and none of those allurements of sensual pleasure held out, which are the great weapons of the tempter; the child, knowing all that he wisheth to know, at a time when as yet the passions are not awakened, would turn his thoughts to other objects of more import, and greater nobleness: and feel disgusted rather than allured by the conversation of the impure and vicious in after life: and this I say from experience and conviction, no less regarding youth of one sex, than the other. I would speak thus, and indeed have so spoken with good effect—“ My child, man, in his compound nature, belongeth to two worlds; by this mortal and perishable body he is bound to earth, and partaketh of the nature of the beasts; his internal constitution is almost the same; he is generated, born, and dieth like them; but in his soul he holdeth something of the nature of God, and hath the promise that if he duly cherish this divine spark, he shall finally enjoy the felicity proper to God himself. We are placed in this world to choose between animal and spiritual enjoyment; for happiness can only be the result of having and doing what we like to have and do; and therefore God leaveth us free. If we bind ourselves to earth by cherishing all our animal propensions, and thinking about all that pertaineth to our animal nature, rather than to our spiritual, then we, having fixed all our pleasures here, can never enjoy any other kind of life; and when this faileth us, which it doth gradually in age, and entirely in death, we have nothing left but useless regrets: whereas if we only give the body so much consideration as shall keep it in health, and devote ourselves to the pleasures of the mind; then we are every day becoming

more fit for the happiness God hath promised us. Surely we are more noble than the beasts, and it is pleasant to feel our own dignity ; yet he that talketh and thinketh only of the things of the body, seemeth to forget that he hath a rank above them. Would a woman wish to become no better than a cow ; a useful animal, with no thought above bringing her offspring into the world, and caring for their food ? Is man formed with a divine soul merely to run the wild career of an untamed colt ; to be broken by stripes to do his part in this world, with no thought beyond it ?" Should questions arise out of such a conversation, let them be answered fairly, gravely, and truly. Let the child know what his mother suffered in giving him birth : he will love her the better, and when he cometh to man's estate, that thought of bitter suffering, and danger to life, will make the jest of the libertine sound to his ears like the laugh of the executioner. Nor, because I here use the masculine gender, would I confine this knowledge to that sex only : women no less than men must look into the depths of life, ere they will be able to make that free choice of the good whereon our eternal felicity doth depend : women no less than men are exposed to the arts of the tempter, and have no less need that the childish hand should be trained to use the weapons of defence. Gratify the young mind by bringing before it the wonders of science, not as a drudgery, but a recreation ; accustom the child to seek knowledge as pleasure, and there is little fear that youth will be misspent, or old age contemptible.

And here too we may recur to the education of the Saviour, of whose childhood two things are recorded —the first, that at twelve years old he astonished the doctors in the temple by his thirst for knowledge, and the share of it which he had already acquired ;—the

other, that this true science, thus bestowed by his Divine Father and Tutor, had no evil effect on his human soul; but that he returned to his home, showed all filial duty to his far more ignorant parents, and won the affection of all by his amiable manners. So true is it that real knowledge causeth no vanity. And herein, before I conclude, I would note one error more common and more fatal than all the rest. Whilst contemplating the Divine ΛΟΓΟΣ which spake by the lips of Jesus of Nazareth, we too often forget his complete human nature, and whilst bowing in distant adoration to the ineffable Deity, we overlook the *man* in whom he enshrined his glory. But God doth nothing in vain: he could have spoken to us in the whirlwind, or have written his commands in characters of fire before our eyes: but he chose to come among us as one of ourselves; he sought to lead us back to him by means of our social affections: to show a human being so amiable that we might love, and imitate because we loved him. Surely then it is the greatest of all errors to cast away the benefits of such an "ensample," and although Christ *lived* in this world upwards of thirty years, to turn our attention only to his *death*. If his life had no benefit for us, why did he go through all the stages of childhood and youth? a better notion is it which I have lately seen expressed. "Christ," says the author, "showed himself among us only as a child and a young man. He well knew that he who followed his steps so far, would need no guide for his old age."

## OF ERRORS IN GRAMMAR.

IT would seem strange that in an age which doth boast itself as literary, there should be any need to enumerate errors of this kind, as prevalent among those who have received what in common parlance is called a good, or liberal education: yet from whatever cause, whether from carelessness, or conceit of knowledge which maketh study needless, it is a thing certain that many barbarisms have crept into the writing and speaking of English, which a moderate knowledge of grammar would have prevented. It was indeed a common saying in the last age, that this English tongue of ours hath no forms of grammar proper to it; and that therefore reading and writing do, as goodman Dogberry is made to say, "come by nature," without the necessity for any study thereof, save such as is gained by the exercise in the Latin and Greek tongues which in "grammar schools" is required. Yet he who should fancy that he could learn German phraseology and idiom by the study of Latin, would be laughed to scorn by all: why then should it be imagined that the sister dialect hath in it less of grammatical peculiarity.

Unfortunately for lingual purity, the study of grammar hath in it little to captivate the imagination; and most seem to shrink therefrom with a kind of horror, the result of the severities of early pedagogues; and this rendereth the correction of such like errors a task of almost hopeless difficulty; yet that I may acquit mine own conscience, and be in no way an accessory to the murder of the king's or queen's English, I

shall endeavor to point out some of the principal modes of defacing and injuring this our ancient tongue.

I will note in the first place the confusion made in the cases of pronouns by persons of good learning in other matters, for though it be well known that in the Teutonic family of languages generally, the four cases chiefly to be noted in the Greek, from whence the old Teutones appear to have derived the main structure of their language,—do exist,—namely the nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative: and though it be equally well known that our tongue is of that family, and so cognate to the German that the natives of that great country do speak English with a facility unknown to any of the southern nations of Europe,—yet in practice is this matter wholly disregarded; and nominative and accusative are strangely interchanged, to the great discomfort of ears trained to grammatical accuracy. Thus *you* or *ye* may be used indifferently in the nominative: but *you* is always the accusative and dative: and prepositions, it is well known, do not admit a nominative case to follow them. Yet shall we find poets defacing their pages with such oversights as disgrace the following passage, which for its poetic force and depth of feeling did well deserve a less careless phraseology.

“ Oh serious eye, how is it that the light,  
The burning rays that mine pour into *ye*,  
Still find *ye* cold, and dead, and dark as night?  
Oh lifeless eyes, can *ye* not answer me?  
Oh lips whereon mine own so often dwell,  
Hath love’s warm, fearful, thrilling touch, no spell  
To waken sense in *ye*? Oh misery!  
Oh breathless lips, can *ye* not speak to me ?”

Here *ye* occurs five times, and twice only is it in its proper place as the nominative of the verb: in each

of the others it is either governed by a preposition or a verb transitive, and therefore should have been *you*. To an ear accustomed to a right construction of language such a fault is not a little offensive, and the beauty of poetry is as much vitiated thereby as if, in the human visage, the eye and eyebrow should be continually changing their relative position, and sometimes the one, sometimes the other, should take the upper place.

Furthermore there groweth out of this disregard of the just declension of pronouns by some authors of good repute, a notion that they are in fact indeclinable, and that, therefore, the cases must always be expressed by circumlocutions. Thus many a pretender to fine writing would fancy he had done well by using the preposition *of*, in lieu of the genitive case, and will say, *of whom*, rather than, *whose*; although, according to the grammar and idiom of our tongue, the use of the genitive *whose* be far the more proper: for the one relative pronoun *who*, is thus declined,

	Mas. Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	Who	Which
Gen.	Whose	Which
Dat. & Acc.	Whom	Which

and the idiom of the Teutonic family of languages doth require, for beauty and strength of expression, the use of the genitive case, wherever the hissing sound thereof doth not so far make it unpleasant to the ear as to require it to be avoided *euphonixæ gratiâ*.

Besides this confusion in the pronouns, another error doth very commonly find place in conversation and periodical publications, and sometimes also in writers of a better order; namely, the putting of an abverb where the true construction of the language

doth require a conjunction. The true place of the adverb, as the name doth in a measure import, is after the verb, i. e., *added* to it, while the conjunction goeth before it; yet we shall commonly hear the adverbs of time *directly*, and *immediately*, placed in the stead of the conjunctive phrase *as soon as*. If the adverb be ever allowed a place before the verb in good writing, it is then merely a companion of a preposition giving intensity and preciseness to it, as it doth also in some cases to a noun adjective, as "*directly after* hearing"—"*immediately on* hearing"—or with an adjective, as "*directly good*"—"*immediately relative to*"—but never should it be used in the fashion of—"directly he heard"—instead of "*as soon as* he heard."

Then again we find all writers and teachers eschewing with especial care, the placing of a preposition at the end of a sentence; yet in the *Hoch Teutsch*, or German, which is the younger sister of English Saxon, it is a rule that under certain circumstances it shall be so placed; and in the racy, idiomatic language of our elder writers, it is frequently found to be so; though perhaps few discover why this style to our ears soundeth better and more forcible. *Inclined to*,—*hoped for*, and the like, are phrases of this nature, and as happily this old Saxon form retaineth its hold in the spoken, though it be losing it in the written language, we may peradventure hope that writers will at last find out that when addressing English ears, they should use the English tongue.

There is another fault heard frequently in common parlance, but not yet, as I think, written: videlicet, the use of the noun adjective *like* with a verb and its nominative; a position which it hath no claim to, in the room of the conjunction *as*. Thus we shall

hear school boys and young college men say “I did that *like* he did,” instead of—“*as* he did”—an error, which, though it have not yet found its way into print, will do so ere long, unless this mode of speaking be corrected.

And so much may suffice for the errors in grammar of such as are by courtesy supposed well instructed on such points. But there is a further error in books especially devoted to the science, which is of yet greater import, as it not unfrequently may vitiate the sense of a translation, and thus deceive the unlearned reader. Every foreigner who would learn English, knoweth to his cost, that if in the just use of *shall*, and *will*, lieth one of the main beauties of the language, so also doth its greatest difficulty: yet it is for him both sad and strange that no one hath clearly set it forth in any work of grammar. In such works I do constantly find the future tense of verbs written *I shall or will*, as though their use were indifferent: a fault which leadeth to many mistakes, and much mockery of strangers, by those, who, from long habit, have gained the true use of these words. Neither is this without ill effect in the most important of all writings; for in more than one passage in Holy Writ a careless putting of one word for the other by the translators, doth strangely confound our understanding thereof. For according to common usage, which in a living and spoken tongue is the best rule of signification, the simple future tense runneth thus,

I shall	We shall	}	go
Thou wilt	Ye will		
He will	They will		

and if any one will change this arrangement, he will perceive that he sayeth not what he meaneth to express; as is well seen in the oft-repeated jest of the

Frenchman in the water, exclaiming “ *I will* be drowned—nobody *shall* help me,” wherein by confounding the different persons of the simple future tense, an extraordinary perversion of sense is occasioned. Let us but reverse the order thus

I will	We will	}
Thou shalt	Ye shall	} go
He shall	They shall	

and we shall find that in this form, which for distinction’s sake I shall call the second future, it hath an imperative force not by any means belonging to the first. And though this distinction be wanting in those modern tongues which are derived from the Latin, which hath it not, yet we find it to exist in some measure in the Greek, which hath an imperative future; and in the Hebrew, which hath besides the simple active voice, and the future thereunto belonging, another voice which is causative; the future whereof partaketh of the nature of our second future, as above noted, and this voice the Rabbins are wont to call *Hiphil*. Now in that passage of the book of Genesis where the *Lord God* is said to speak to Adam and his wife after their transgression, the tense used is not in *Hiphil*, but in the simple active future, notwithstanding which the translators have rendered it by “ *thou shalt*,” whereby the notions of the unlearned are much confounded, and they do rather see therein a stern judge condemning, than a good father telling his children the necessary consequences of what they had done; they having been forewarned that, according to the nature given them, such consequences must ensue. A serious evil resulting from a seemingly small grammatical fault!

It might well nigh be thought from the commonness of this confusion in books professing to treat on

grammar, that the English nation was jealous of all others, and resolved, by keeping the key of their language in a labyrinth, to prevent any but themselves from attaining to the use thereof; a great reproach to the people, were it true: but scarcely a less reproach is it, that there should be so general an ignorance of grammar rules as to render the right speaking our language a matter of custom only, no one being able to give any good reason therefor.

## OF CERTAIN ERRORS CURRENT IN REGARD TO DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

In times past when a man fell sick, he was wont, if he were great enough to find that expense practicable, to send to some oracle for counsel; as Ahaziah, albeit he might have known better, seeing that he was of Israelitish blood, sent messengers unto Baal, the god of flies, at Ekron, to inquire concerning the disease he was suffering from: and if this habit infected even the people chosen to be the depositaries of the truth, we may well guess how prevalent it must have been among the heathen. To this succeeded the belief in particular shrines of Christian saints, and you shall even yet see, it may be, in some chapel of this kind in a remote place, where the ancient superstition surviveth merely under a change of name, as great a number of ex voto offerings of silver and waxen eyes, legs, arms, and the like, as ever covered the walls of the temple at Delphi. Now-a-days superstitions of this kind have taken a fresh course, and, notwithstanding that they no longer enrich the priests of Æsculapius, or of Apollo, or of Isis, they nevertheless set up for themselves some living idol, and he being supposed, like the Pythoness of old, to be inspired with a certain divine afflatus, they pay their offerings to him as religiously as ever did any ancient votary of the god or the saint, and trust to him with as implicit a faith: witness the tales I have heard of a certain Mr. St. John Long, who, in regard

to the excoriations he practised upon his votaries might haply be considered as an avatar of that Ekronitish god of flies, whose fame tempted even the King of Israel to apply to him: for with the aid of some French or German critic I doubt not it might be proved that Baal-zebub was none other than an emplastrum of cantharides.

But leaving that matter to those who are skilled in such etymologies, I will affirm that there is no medical practitioner of good sense and erudition, who doth not regret that any such oracular veneration should be bestowed on him, seeing that it is for the most part no less harmful to himself than it is to the patient, who ignorantly expecteth him to work miracles when he can only bring to his aid the patient attention of an experienced and carefully educated man. Yea, oftentimes, in order to satisfy the unreasoning patient, who, indeed, is usually most *impatient*, he hath to hold language which savoreth more of the charlatan than of the wise and cautious examiner of nature, and thus may lose credit in the eyes of the better instructed, while he is applying himself to the calming of an uneasy mind, which fevereth the body the more from the not well knowing what it hath to dread.

It is an ill finish to a thing in itself good, that the division and subdivision of labor which in later times have produced so much excellence in arts mechanical, have been carried also into learned professions and sciences, wherein such minute division is not profitable, but the contrary thereof. For each man applying himself with eagerness to his own particular calling, doth thereupon conclude that others do the like; and thus imagineth that he may trust them for all those parts of science which pertain more immediately to their especial vocation: and

thus he seeketh not to inform himself enough there-upon to be able to judge of the competence of him whose counsel he seeketh, be it physician or surgeon, lawyer or priest: albeit in his capacity of a human being living in society, he be personally and deeply interested in all the questions which these faculties do profess to treat of. Yet so little doth the applicant ofttimes know of his own affair, that he puzzleth his oracle. Thus a lawyer shall often be hard put to it, to gather from his client those points which chiefly bear upon his case; and the physician hath no less difficulty in detecting the symptoms which shall guide him to a true knowledge of the disease: the ignorance of the patient thus hebetizing, as it were, the art of the doctor, by concealing, or forgetting, it may be, as a matter of no signification, the more important though perhaps less troublesome symptom, and detailing at inconvenient length what might well be passed over. Thus many a man hath become permanently insane because a headache, or a little more than usual watchfulness, are held to be things scarcely worth attention; and no medical aid is called in, or any remedy attempted, till the brain is so seriously diseased as probably to make all remedies vain. No year passeth wherein there is not some instance of suicide committed by persons who had for a time complained of headache, and seemed depressed in spirits; but whose friends, considering this to be a matter of no concernment, had paid slight heed thereto; and only remembered it for their own advantage, as preventing a forfeiture of goods consequent on a verdict of *felo de se*, instead of noting it for that of the sufferer, by taking measures for reducing that diseased action in the brain, which was indeed the cause of the pain first, and next of the insane self-destruction which followed.

I do note therefore as an error of much evil consequence, the notion which some men have, that ignorance of everything relating to anatomy and medicine is safe and even desirable, so long as some medical practitioner, no matter what his skill, may be within reach.

I have seen this wilful ignorance carried yet farther, indeed to such a point that were it not so grave a matter, that a jest thereon would savor too much of levity, I could gather good matter for laughter thereout. For I remember once hearing it said by a lawyer of good ability, when speaking of a preacher whose church he frequented, "I have been told by persons who are judges of such things, that his sermons are very good. I cannot myself understand them, but that is not my business :" and yet this man was no scoffer, or despiser of sacred things ; but he had seemingly considered the priest as a sort of commissary, paid and bound by his engagement, to supply food for the souls of a certain district, the which if he did not furnish, it may be that the man of law, judging of another world by that part of this which was his chief concernment, imagined that there would be a legal remedy in the High Court of Heaven ; and haply, dreamed of an action for damages if, through negligence of the appointed teacher, he should be defrauded of his share of future happiness.

Now if it be folly so to leave another to cater for our life eternal, as if misery could be borne by proxy, and we should suffer no loss provided the blame of the loss could be thrown on another ; I think we must accuse him of a folly only lesser in degree than this one, who should so entirely trust another in regard to his bodily health, as to risk the losing it whilst hoping to restore it : for the lack of skill, or the lack of attention in him who is thus trusted, can

neither be detected nor checked by a man wholly ignorant of his own frame and constitution, of the nature of the pharmaceutical preparations employed, of their probable effects, or of the benefit which the prescriber expecteth that he will derive therefrom. The mere mistake of a chemist's boy may thus put his life to hazard, for he knoweth not what he swalloweth: or if the practitioner be unskillful, no *mistake* may be needed to increase the risk. Neither doth some scientifical acquaintance with these matters make a refractory or hypochondriacal patient, as some profess to apprehend; for quiet submission to our lot doth usually grow out of a rational knowledge of how far it may admit of amendment, how far it must be borne; and, on the other hand, there is no obstinacy like that of ignorance, and no phantasm so difficult to remove as that which cannot be reasoned with. For though the imagination, when preternaturally excited, may work wonders through the influence exercised by the brain over the muscular fibre, by means of the nerves thence proceeding, yet this is but a sorry kind of curative process; seeing that it is uncertain, and will oftener be turned against the practitioner, than, may be, it can second him.

There is no charlatan, how ridiculous soever may be his pretensions when tried by the light of sober reason, that doth not find his followers, even in this age of fancied enlightenment; and those who consult this lying oracle shall many times be found, on inquiry, to be persons of very sufficient acuteness and good sense in their own vocation: yet the clearness of their intellect availeth them not in this matter, which is even of more concernment to comfort than either riches or greatness. But there is one class more especially the prey of such pretenders,

videlicet, the female sex, who being, by the erroneous notions in regard to the fitting education for a woman, kept, for the most part, in profound ignorance of every useful part of knowledge, listen to and credit what is told them, because they have never been sufficiently indoctrinated to be able to detect a fallacy either in science or argument. And yet, who needeth so much to know something of anatomy and pharmacy as they, who by their natural constitution are less fortified than the other sex against the assaults of disease ?

How much of the imprudence which incurreth sickness, and the waywardness which ill beareth it, would be prevented if men in their youth were taught to know so much of the human corporeal frame as to be able to measure their own powers, and neither over nor under task them ! For he who demanded too much from his muscles or his brain, will strain, and damage them : but he who demandeth not enough, doth himself a yet more irreparable injury ; for then they gain not their due development, and are unfit for use when the occasion calleth for their exertion. And indeed I must herein accuse those of mine own profession of some misapprehension ; for you shall find the medical attendant oftentimes deny his patient the use of books, or of writing or of such like amusement, as holding that this kind of occupation will fatigue, and thus retard the cure. Yet the same physician will desire that the sick person shall be taken out of bed for refreshment, and ease of body, so soon as the severity of disease is somewhat abated ; nay that, if possible, he shall be removed to another chamber for the sake of a fresher air than that contaminated by his own fevered breath. Hath then the brain no function also which is to be attended to, in order to restore its healthy

influence over the other parts? Who amongst us hath not seen how much the discontents and griefs of the mind impair digestion, and interrupt the regular course of the circulation, with the due secretions therefrom resulting? And shall we imagine to restore the patient by refusing amusement, and keeping him constantly pining under the sickness of hope deferred, thinking of his sufferings because he hath nothing else to think of, and fevering himself with restless wishes for what he cannot have. Leave him his book—he will read till he is weary, and then he will sleep. Suffer him to write—if his arm or his head ache in consequence, he will soon lay aside his pen and seek repose to fit himself to resume it; and in meantime, if the symptoms be not very urgent, his sufferings will be forgotten, and the cheerfulness of health will return, and aid the cure, it may be, more than all the drugs thou canst administer.

When even a healthy man is put into solitary confinement, we have had good experience in sundry lamentable cases, that his bodily constitution sinketh under the unnatural state of mind thereby engendered. Wilt thou shut up one who is suffering already from sickness, and haply with no society save that of a stupid nurse, without any means of amusing his mind? Shall he have no employment but the counting the beats of his fevered pulse, or the stripes or the flowers in the paper or bed furniture, it may be; or figuring horrid faces from shadows,—or the fancying landscapes in the veins of the marble chimney piece,—or the gazing on some portrait, haply, till he fancieth the eyes move, and he almost shrieketh at the frightful creation of his own fantasy. Is this the way to promote convalescence? My worthy brother, thou art but half a master of the healing art if thou hast never learned

to bring the mind to aid in the body's cure. So mighty an agent existeth not in the whole round of natural causes ; and thou mayest thank thy favorable stars if it be thy fate to find a patient who can and will mentally recreate himself during sickness ; for he will live by the force of intellectual activity, where the weak and desponding would sink and die.

But, methinks, I hear it said, " I do not deny my patients fitting amusement—they may read a novel—they may delectate themselves with the visits of the Apothecary, who will listen to all their complaints, and besides giving a large share of pity, will delight them with abundance of talk touching the news of the day."—But this is not the *healthy* exercise of the mind ; it is by forgetting ailments, not by talking about them, that the cure is promoted ; nor is it to be supposed that the idle desultory gossip of the neighborhood, or the absorbing interest of a work of fiction, whose merit consists in the taking such hold of the imagination that it cannot be dismissed at will ;—furnish that train of gently consecutive and satisfactory reflections, which may sooth into quiet sleep : for the brain, suffering somewhat of the debility of the rest of the body, beareth not sudden jerks and disruptions of thought, but delighteth in following one subject, or shifting into another by easy stages as it were. The delectations of the wise and good, therefore, during illness are very different from the above mentioned, and we shall find that their favorite recreations will be the truths of science and of religion, the book of God's works, and the book of God's laws. These bring us into immediate communion with the Deity, and as the fabled Antæus gained fresh strength from touching his mother earth, so doth man—the son of the Highest, gain

power from bringing his soul into contact with his Almighty Father. Earth and its concerns are so brief, so small, to him whose mind hath been thus employed, that even should the illness promise to be life-long, the thought bringeth no despondency. How can it do so to one who hath no mind to return to the paltry littleness of every-day life? Many a great mind hath matured in a sick room works which make it evident that the vigor of intellect—the light of heaven, it may be, beaming on the inward eye,—hath triumphed over the ills of the body. Oh leave the sick man his books; leave him his lofty thoughts; his hope that even in this seclusion he is not wholly useless; his strong will, his upward aspirations!

I remember some years ago visiting often an excellent man who had long been suffering severely, and whose age left small hope that he would ever recover health. He was wise enough to seek mental recreation,—good enough to seek such as gave him peace and hope, nor shall I easily forget the animation which lighted up his pale face as he talked of his favorite pursuit. He had undertaken a critical translation of the gospels, and his delight when he could throw any new light on an obscure passage was boundless. I asked him once how soon he should finish his work. "Never," was his answer; "had I other pressing business to attend to, I might conclude this;—but now, what can I have so soothing as this blessed book always before my eyes?—The desire to make my rendering more perfect, gives a definite object and a zest to all my other reading, and I am amused without losing sight of what I love. A work of fiction may serve to divert an hour for a fellow that hath never had an ache in his shoulders, but to one who hath little to enjoy in life save the hope of quitting it, there is no book like this. All

others pall and weary, excepting as they connect themselves with the great end of man's being, and the foundation of his expectations. I sleep quietly when I finish the day in such guise." By thus giving, as he himself expressed it, a definite object to his excursive reading, it gained a sufficient interest to render the mind active: history, travels, philology, all bore in some way on his pursuit; and it was pleasant to see the joyful and triumphant air with which he would sometimes hold up to me a book he had just purchased, exclaiming "I shall find something here for my work." To the day of his death he never ceased to retouch his darling translation.

There is also another error which groweth out of, and is in a measure dependent on the notions which the learned in medicine have unwittingly encouraged. You shall hear it given as a symptom of one disease that it causeth great depression of spirits, of another that it is attended by peculiar irritability of temper; and so on through all the moods which suffering may be expected to produce in untaught or untrained minds; who, as a dog howleth when he is chained up, or snarleth and snappeth at any one who would administer relief to him when injured, yield to all animal emotions, and are sad or gay as the course of the bloody prompteth. But this, though alack! it be a common, is yet by no means a necessary consequence of disease, and though the physician may need to know this when he hath to deal with ill-regulated minds, he is wrong if he expect that this shall always be the case, and still more wrong if he assert it so to be. For thus shall he, perchance, on the one hand, mistake hugely the case of one who hath so little of the animal in him that he will not howl when he is hurt; and on the other encourage

in weak-minded persons the yielding to the impulses of peevishness and ill humour, as thinking them such natural consequences of disease as to admit of no restraint: and thus haply the health of the attendant friends shall be more damaged by the weariness of trying to soothe one who thinketh he hath license for his fretfulness, than his who thus weareth out those who would minister to his comfort. Selfishness is an ugly vice at all times; but sickness hath double horrors if the moral constitution be broken down as well as the bodily: for surely he must have more than ordinarily long legs who would think to step into the blessedness of heaven, from the querulous peevishness which hath made his sick room a hell.

## OF THE CONDITION OF SOCIETY AS TOUCHING THE FEMALE SEX.

I SHOULD, I think, hardly satisfy my readers, I am sure I should not satisfy myself, were I to conclude this my discourse without farther inquiry into those false opinions which I have already taken occasion to notice in a more brief and cursory manner, with regard to the true position of women in society, as in this later age it is constituted. For herein it seemeth to me that many errors, bequeathed to us by our ancestors, do continue to bear fruit of more bitter consequence than any that was plucked in Paradise, and, as in that fault, albeit the woman may oftentimes be the agent in the evil, all do eat thereof to their great discomfort and detriment. Wherefore I propose, good reader, to note some of these errors, their causes, and, according to my poor apprehension, their remedy also: so that, be thou male or female, thou shalt peradventure find this inquiry not wholly useless to thy present instruction and future good.

The first step of such an inquiry must be set very far back, for as the first scene in the drama of human existence was laid in Eden, so we must take that for our starting point; since there, if ever, we shall find what is the true relation of the sexes in society. And if it be said that both forfeited their claim to that true relation when they quitted that sweet garden; be it remembered that in all the dealings of God with man since that time, the object of his dispensations has been the reinstatement of his erring children in the

same, yea even in a better state than that which their animal and sensual nature tempted them for a time to abandon: therefore we do properly fulfil his will, and advance his kingdom, by endeavoring to ascertain that true and pristine state, and, as far as in us lieth, to restore it.

Woman then in Paradise was the independent companion and helpmate of man: for where food was to be had for the plucking, she had no lack of other strength than she possessed to aid her in the procuring it; and where she had no enemies, she needed no protection. The aid therefore which she could lend, or receive, could only be that spiritual and intellectual assistance which human creatures are ever prone to seek from each other; since finite beings always hope to gain something more of the infinite by gathering to themselves the intellectual possessions of others as well as their own. And if, as I conceive, the somewhat more delicate organization, and larger proportionate brain of woman, doth give her, *cæteris paribus*, the advantage of quicker perception, and greater promptitude in mental operation, we may well opine that she was "a help meet for man" in all wherein he needed help, but answerable for her conduct to God alone, from whom she had received the good gift of reason, and freedom to use it. Would we then indeed return to our pristine happiness, and enjoy the comfort of that interchange of mental pleasures which was destined for man as a species, we should return also towards that pristine state of things. But how standeth the case now? Population presseth hard, in this long-settled country, on the means of subsistence, and woman hath daily more and more to learn the lesson that she is but the female of that species, the law of whose nature is labour: for the first fault having been that of the

animal part, God by his merciful decree (loving, even in reproof,) weakened its influence, by requiring from it enough of toil to keep it in subjection to the higher and better rule of the rational soul.

Such then being the natural state of the human race, food being made essential to life, and labor requisite to the procurance of food, is the position of woman in society such, either by law or custom, as to enable her to comply with that law which was given for such good purpose, and which no human customs or human decrees can supersede? Is she, by custom and law, allowed to labor for the means of support, or if she hath acquired it, to keep it? and if she be not, what good reason hath society to give for so glaring an injustice? A woman may marry, I shall be told, and then the husband will maintain her. He who answereth thus knoweth that he answereth not truly. Where subsistence is hard to be won, if the woman bringeth nothing to the common stock, marriage is often impracticable, unless for a fool that looketh not to the future; and many a woman *must* remain single for the lack of this world's goods: many more *would* remain single rather than sell their persons for food and raiment,—for a mercenary marriage is but a market transaction,—if they had any means of honorable labor whereby to eat bread, the sweeter for being that of independence.

Why then should we longer stave off the putting the question which sooner or later must be asked?—Women are found dying of inanition, unable to obtain the wherewith to still the pangs of hunger—why is this?—Why is suicide, why is crime the hopeless resort of her who in common parlance, though not in common usage, is held to be the cherished companion and “better half” of man?

This question hath never yet received a satisfactory answer, and haply some may be found to flout at mine, though indeed mockery be no refutation. I reply that woman's position in society is a false one: that healthy, not excessive labor being the law of our existence, she hath nevertheless been either debarred from using it to good purpose, or else doomed to endure it in crushing excess, by defective teaching, which hath obliged her to labor with her hands rather than her head;—by unnatural restraints;—by idle or ill maxims:—and when man striveth to overturn the law of God and nature, he is apt to make wild work of it; and, like the builders of Babel, to find that the fabric he hath sought to raise will remain to future generations but a ruinous monument of his own folly.

Let us not any longer disguise facts: from the moment that a female child is born into the world she is subjected to an unjust inequality by the laws of this realm: she cannot exercise or enjoy the rights of a free citizen, even if her lot have fallen in fair pasture, and her father having left her wherewith to live, she hath remained single and kept it. If she marry, her very individual existence is merged in that of her husband; the property that she hath in possession is taken from her, or placed peradventure in the hands of trustees, by whose negligence or fraud it is often wasted; and if she afterwards obtain anything by labor or inheritance, it is not her's, but her husband's: nay, she is no longer considered even as a rational and individual agent in the eyes of the law.

Nor is public opinion more just:—go into a school for poor children where the males are receiving such an education as may fit them for clerks and shopmen, bailiffs or gardeners: and if thou remark on the in-

complete instruction afforded to the female children, the reply will be—"The gentlemen say it is good enough for girls"—Go a step or two higher: ye shall find that the father keepeth his daughters ignorant of business; for why should they be taught what they will never have occasion to exercise? and if he sometimes think that after his death they may be destitute, he endeavoreth that they shall have two or three showy accomplishments, and even those insufficiently taught them, that they may take the situation of a governess; and thus the would-be-teachers soon come to be more numerous than the scholars that need them. Look higher yet: science and philosophy are held to be "unfeminine;" and those that call for a better system of teaching shall be mockingly asked, "Would ye make female professors?"

What then remaineth for a woman who must eat, and hath no one to give her bread?—She may toil with her needle.—What sort of maintenance this is, late inquiries have shown: she may work sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, or perhaps all the night as well as all the day, and when she hath ruined health and eyesight, find that she still hath not wherewith to live: or she may go out as a governess if she can obtain that office, even for no better remuneration than her board, or starve when she cannot: or she may enter upon a course of sin and shame if she be young and handsome; or commit suicide if this fail her. Is this the boon that fathers give their daughters?—Did the law give women the rights of free citizenship, parents would take care that their female, as well as their male children, should receive such an education as should enable them to administer their affairs;—or if fathers gave their daughters a better education, the law would probably view

women with more favor; but by thus arguing in a vicious circle, refusing women their rights because they are held unable to exercise them, and then denying them a useful education because they have no rights to exercise, we inflict unmerited sufferings on a large portion of our species, and render those idle and adulatory sayings which are addressed to women in the heyday of their youth and beauty, the crudest of all mockeries.

Give the female the same chance as the male; let her mind be strengthened by study, and her body by exercise; let her see what the world is upon whose mercies she is to be cast; and if the care of the law have left her any one right in this so-named free country, let her learn to use it in order to obtain truer justice for her sex, that the next generation may not find crime, starvation, or suicide, the three alternatives offered for the acceptance of those whom the world prates to of "woman's proper sphere,"—nor if strong moral feeling hath eschewed vice, and absolute, bitter, biting want hath unsettled the brain, be told that the wild endeavor to exchange the lingering pangs of hunger for a speedier death is a punishable offence:—a lunatic asylum, not a prison, is for the most part the proper place for such offenders.

When the fanaticism of a past age sent human beings to the stake, a few pounds of gunpowder to tie about the neck, was held a charitable gift, which kind hearts, more merciful than the laws, offered to the sufferer. Yea, our own holy martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, disdained not such aid: but when a woman is doomed, by this hard-hearted and false-judging age, to die by the lingering torture of want, magistrates and judges refuse the *coup de grâce*, and insist that the suffering shall be borne unabridged,

out of an assumed concern for the souls of those whose bodies have been left to perish.

Far be it from me to countenance that rash impatience of life which leadeth man to cut short the span which God hath assigned to him; but if, by harshness or neglect, we so embitter the existence of some wretched being, that in spite of the instinctive love of life, it is found a burden too heavy to be endured longer; who ought to bear the blame of the sin? The laws and customs which cause the evil, or the unhappy woman, whose brain reeling under the repeated shocks of suffering; or of remorse—if hunger have been staved off by sin; perpetrateth an act of violence on herself, whereof it is for God, not man, to take cognizance.

If indeed the numbers of the nation exceed its means of subsistence, let the evil be boldly met: the world is wide, and other lands can offer soil to till when England overfloweth: but let both sexes be placed in a situation to struggle fairly with the difficulty. It is mean, it is hypocritical, to disguise the secret wish to monopolize all profitable employment, under the show of a tender concern for the best interests of “the weaker sex.” If we indeed feel that such rivals in the counting house, the mart, or the lecture-room, would endanger the subsistence of men, while enabling women to maintain themselves; let us at least boldly avow it, and devise a remedy openly. Throw open then the field of intellectual labor: let the female be taught to lighten the toil of the body by the work of the mind: teach her the skill of arithmetic;—what is there in the work of a book-keeper which she might not well and profitably discharge? open to her the wells of ancient literature and modern science, and when they are open, forbid her not to drink thereof herself, and to draw thence

enough to quench the thirst of others also. Ye will not have a female professor, forsooth; but do ye not sit and applaud night after night while actresses address crowded theatres? May a woman repeat the words of others in public, but not repeat her own? May she exhibit her person on the stage in such dances as are there performed, and not exhibit an experiment in chemistry? May she sing idle lays to hundreds, but not speak wisdom to them? And is this boasted care which public opinion taketh of female morals?

It might be matter for longer discourse than I have space for, were I closely to examine, and trace back to their causes in every instance, the evils here noted; but a few of these causes it may be well to state briefly. And foremost among these standeth the inferiority of the woman in regard to physical strength; the which, when many tribes of the great human family (from some of which tribes we of this realm are descended) became rude and barbarous, and warred often for their hunting-grounds, or found it more to their taste to seize the goods of others, than to labor for themselves,—did make females in great measure dependent on the stronger sex for support: and dependence among rude nations hath many of the characters of slavery. During the season of semibarbarism which succeeded to this, after England had become a settled kingdom under the Teuton races, the code whereon our common as well as much of our statute law is founded, was established; and hereon was grafted, not long after the Norman feudalism; whereby warlike suit and service became the main title to property, and the king's legislative council consisted of such only as held fiefs: for in those days the church also was militant, in the worst sense of the word, and the bishop had his vassals,

and parceled out his land in knights' fees. At the period when William of Warenne could cast his sword upon the table when called upon to prove the title to his estate, and that wise and strong-handed monarch, Edward, the first of that name, found himself obliged to submit to this glave law, it is clear that the female sex had very small chance of obtaining any regard to their rights as human beings: for the rude warrior of that day recognized no right in any who had not a sword wherewith to maintain it. The wife of a baron was a part of his estate, his daughter a part of his property: learning he had none of himself, and he needed none in his companion.

The churchman, the only man in those days who had any skill in letters, was doomed to a life of celibacy by the asceticism which had corrupted the simplicity of Christianity: therefore he sought for no "help meet for him" in his studies; and knew nothing of any females but either such as were shut away from all liberal science within the walls of a convent, or such as ministered only to his baser animal needs: and this ascetic rule, which held that a saint was disgraced by the very society which his mild Master sought and loved, added the finishing stroke to woman's degradation. The warrior despised the feeble hand that could not wield the lance, but he also sometimes pitied and cherished the weak woman who clung to him for protection: it was reserved for a corrupted religious faith to take from her even her self-respect; to banish her foot from the holiest spots; to esteem her touch defilement!—yea, woman, whose courage had braved the terrors of Jewish prejudice straining law to destroy the innocent, and, despite of priests and rulers, followed to the cross **HIM** whom all but his gentle woman-like

disciple John had forsaken or forsworn,—was held an unclean creature by those who professed to be His servants. There is a tale told of a certain Quaker who, having been bitten by a dog, apostrophized him thus—“I will not kill thee, but I will give thee a bad name”—and he raised the cry of “*bad dog*,” which being soon mistaken for “*mad*,” the poor beast was hunted till he became mad in good earnest: and thus woman, when an ill name had been given her at first, however undeservedly, became subject to treatment which oftentimes caused her at last to deserve it.

A different age hath now arisen; but it is so much the instinct of man to do again what he hath been accustomed to do and to see done, that old habits and opinions still make a stout fight for the upper hand, and yield only inch by inch to the pressure of the times. But nevertheless they do *yield*, and it is therefore at this time especially, that such an inquiry as I have endeavored to institute is likely to be useful. The world hath been so constituted by its Creator, that in all the relations of life man must still find woman by his side; and by that companionship he must be influenced for the better or the worse; how much all might be benefited were that influence always for the better, I will not here undertake to conjecture, but this I do know, that where a man findeth in a wife, or a daughter, or a sister, the real “help meet for him,” he enjoyeth a reduplication of his mental and even bodily powers; and by her loving labor and sweet companionship findeth his toils and cares so lightened of their weight, that he would almost wish to have them for the sake of finding them so dexterously and gently shared and soothed. In this, therefore, as in all other things, the doer of injustice findeth, like him who swingeth

a flail unskillfully, that it returneth on his own head with the more force, the greater the strength he hath exerted ; and man, by his injustice to woman, hath lost much of that solace and help which was designed for him by his Creator. And it might be matter for curious remark on the constitution of human nature, that the injustice is now done rather as a matter of habit than for any good reason : for no one in this age will maintain that either man or woman is disqualified for parts of trust or honor by the lack of physical strength, or warlike skill ; neither in this reformed church will any man hold himself defiled by the society of womankind. Nay, in matters of science and literature, if a woman have courage enough to brave the flouting of fools, and the opposition of relations, and gain erudition in spite of the outcry raised against woman's learning,—when she hath at last achieved fame, her labors will also give her consideration in society. But it is a false and a bad social state when what is *right* to do, is not also *honorable* to do. When God hath given intellect, and an immortal soul to be guided and prepared for its better state by the use thereof, we sin against our Creator if we set human prejudice higher than God's law. “In Christ there is neither male nor female, bond nor free.”

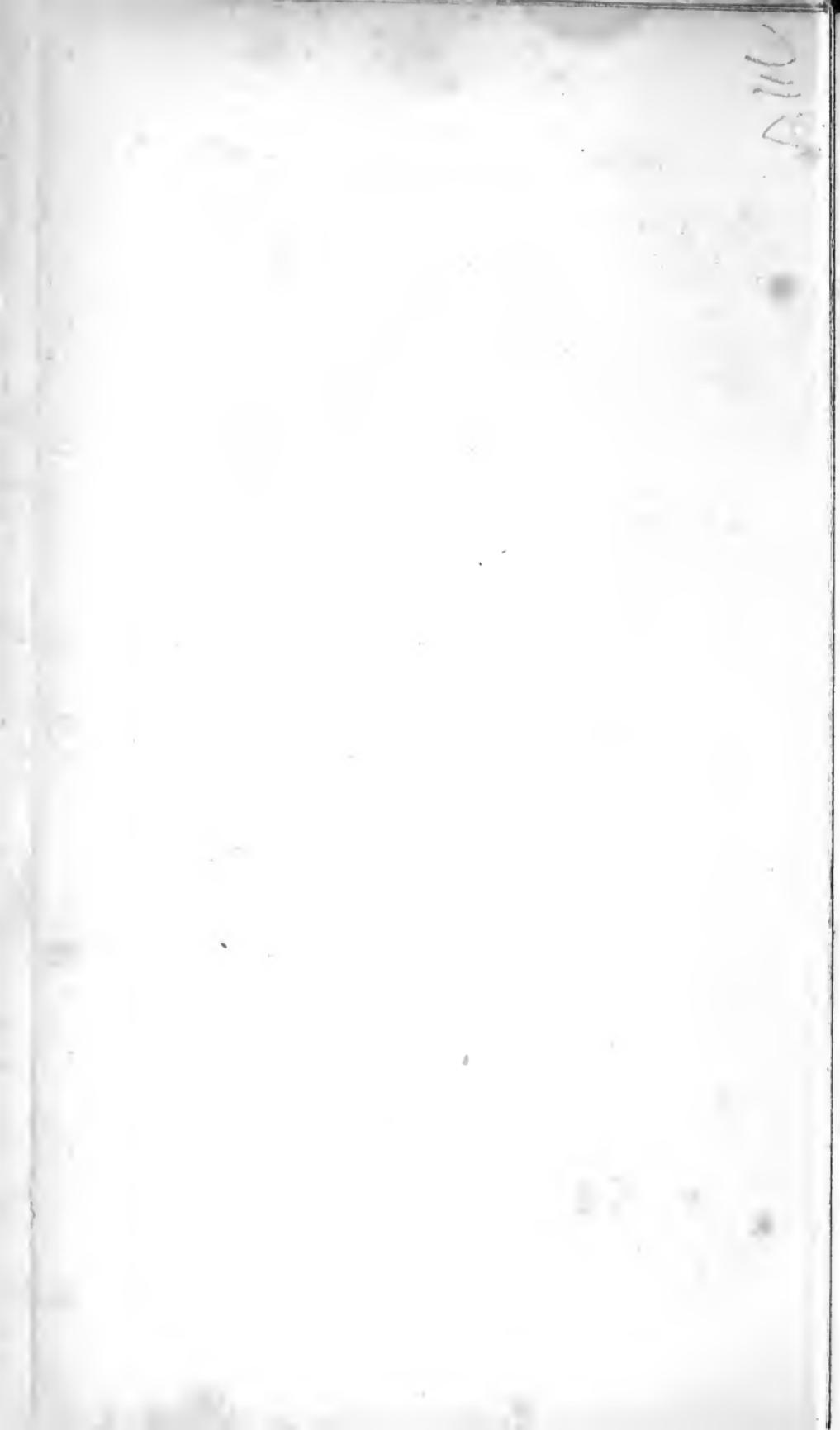
But herein, nevertheless, prejudice holdeth its own, maugre God's will ; for law and custom having debarred females from profitable employment, a father looketh only to the fitting his daughters for the market, seeing he can no otherwise rid himself of the charge of their maintenance than by shifting the onus from his own shoulders to those of a husband : and for this cause he holdeth that a form which may captivate some roving fancy in the dance, is of more value than those qualities which may make the possessor useful, and consequently happy :

therefore female children are right early taught that the care of the *outside* is of more consequence than that of the *in*: and that if the surface of the cranium be daintily ornamented, it matters not what may be the state of the brain beneath it. If such teaching bear its natural fruit, what is the wonder? One who hath for fifteen years been taught that the catching of a husband is the great business of life, and who hath to set before her eyes what is to please man rather than God,—when she hath succeeded in her chase, affordeth small comfort to the prisoner she hath taken; who may be ruined by her extravagance, deprived of his peace by her ill-humor, or disgraced by her misconduct.

I have stated these matters roundly and roughly, for doth not the chirurgeon need to use rough and sharp remedies when a gangrene is spreading in the body? and this, the gangrene of the body social, requireth something of the like treatment: for what hath been the custom for any long time, hath a kind of prescriptive right in men's minds; and ye shall often find it a hard matter to prevail on men to see that they have no rational ground for their practice, so much is it become hallowed by age.

Reader, I now bid thee farewell!—If thou be a father, lay to thine inmost heart the dread truth that God will require at thy hands the immortal souls which he hath bestowed on thee, for their nurture in the way of life; and remember that the making thy sons fierce and quarrelsome, by way of being “manly,” and thy daughters idle and useless, under the notion that they will thereby become more “feminine,” is not the part of a man who hath a denizen of the world of spirits entrusted to his training for good or for evil. If thou be a woman, forget not,—albeit my lesson may sound harsh to flattered ears,—

that thou wert not sent into this world to waste thy hours in indolent repose ; that every human being hath his allotted work, and that since God hath not seen fit to tell any one beforehand what that work will be, he must prepare himself by anxious culture in all directions, to execute it well when the task is assigned. Though bred to the expectation of riches, the hour may come when thou wilt find thy learning thy only dower : but whether that hour come or not, one far more certain will yet arrive ; that, namely, wherein we must give an account of every wasted minute and idle word :—look to it, then, that **TIME** shall pay good interest in **ETERNITY**.



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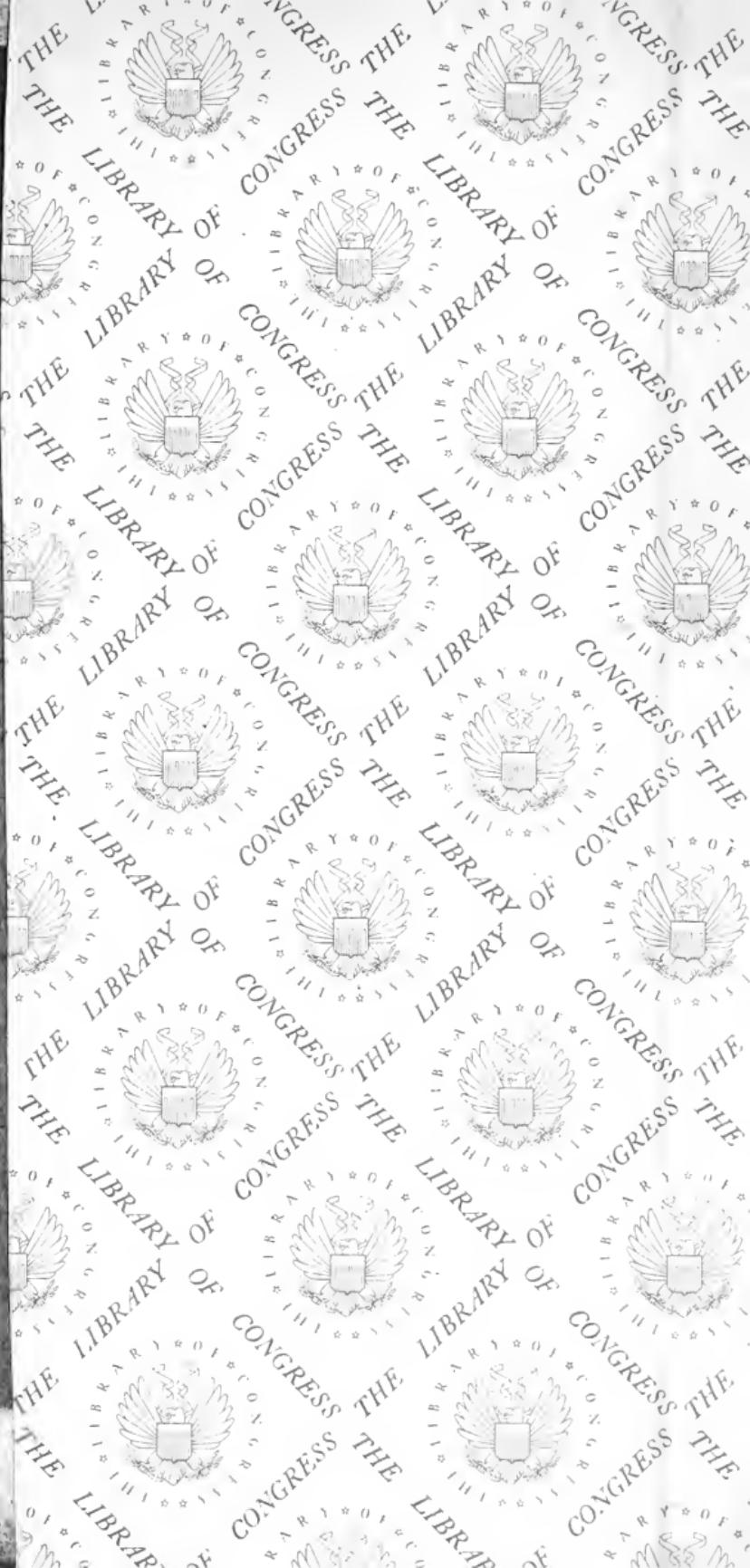


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